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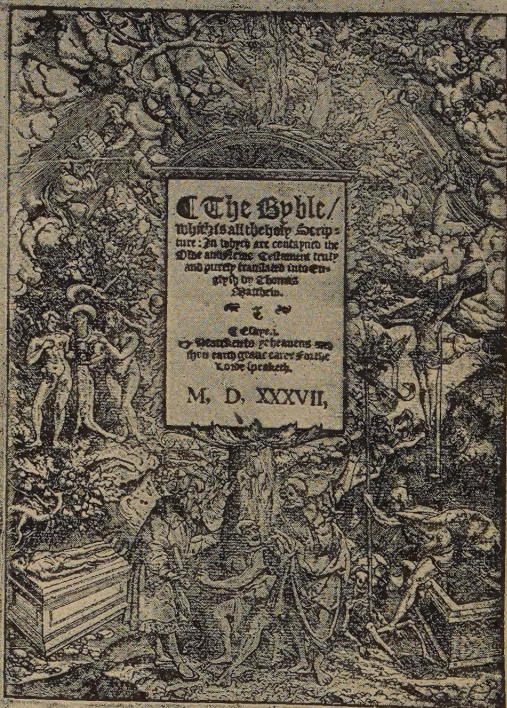
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THE
PRINTED ENGLISH BIBLE

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1525-1885

BY

RICHARD LOVETT, M.A.

*Editor of Demaus' 'William Tyndale, a Biography,' Second Edition ;
Author of 'John Gilmour, of Mongolia,' etc.*

WITH PORTRAITS AND FAC-SIMILES

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P R E F A C E

THE object of this primer is to set forth briefly the chief facts in the history of the Printed English Bible, so far as they are known at present, and to describe the principal editions. There is still much that is obscure, much, probably, that we shall never know, eagerly as the information would be welcomed. A great deal also of what passes for history in current works is partly or wholly fabulous. It is only during the last five-and-twenty years that a beginning has been made in the thorough and scientific study of the great subject, by reflecting the light furnished by the different early editions back upon the external history. Such books as Lewis' *History of the Bible*, Anderson's *The Annals of the English Bible*, Cotton's *Editions of the Bible and parts thereof*, are—the first throughout, and the last two in many most important respects—quite unreliable, while many of their worst blunders are repeated in various handbooks which have copied their statements without any attempt at verification. A brief bibliography of the most reliable books is given at the end of this volume for the guidance of those who wish to pursue the study.

The same criticism applies even more severely to many of the statements about, and even many of the so-called quotations from, the different editions of the

Scriptures. These have often been incorrectly quoted in some recognised book, and then copied and re-copied without verification, and often with a further departure from accuracy. Every quotation made in this little book has been carefully verified by reference to the edition quoted, either in the author's own collection of Bibles, or in those of the British Museum and the Bible Society. One result of this method, it is hoped, will be that the reader will have nothing whatever to unlearn in the way of inaccurate description of and incorrect quotation from early editions. In a subject involving so many minute details it is, perhaps, too much to hope that errors have been avoided. Any inaccuracy brought under the writer's notice by any reader who has first consulted some standard copy of the edition referred to in the text, will be gratefully corrected in future editions.

Many of the words in the extracts from the early editions have been modernized in spelling in order to render them more intelligible to the reader unfamiliar with the forms and peculiarities commonly met with in fifteenth and sixteenth century English books.

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THE PRINTED ENGLISH BIBLE

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

The Men who Translated it.—The history of the translation of the Bible into English, and the circulation of it by means of the printing press, is one of the most heroic and fascinating in our history. The long succession of noble and famous men linked with its story begins with John Wycliffe and William Tindale, includes the sovereigns Henry VIII., Edward VI., Elizabeth, and James I.; the statesmen Thomas Cromwell, Sir Thomas More, and Lord Burleigh; the churchmen Wolsey, Gardiner, Cranmer, Cuthbert Tunstal, and Matthew Parker; and a noble army of scholars—Miles Coverdale, Taverner, W Whittingham, Reynolds of Corpus Christi, Oxford, with hosts of others who, in greater or lesser degree, have combined to perfect the work so well begun by Tindale.

The English nation as a whole has not even yet fully realized what it owes to these men and to their work. Wherever the facts are known with any accuracy and fulness, there admiration and gratitude are strong; but fifty Englishmen can be found able to

give a fairly complete sketch of Henry VIII.'s deeds and misdeeds, for one who can sketch correctly the life and work of Tindale. Yet the man to whose scholarship and toil and personality the character and quality of the English translation of the Bible are due, and who died a martyr's death in order to place that translation within the reach of every plough-boy, did far more for the welfare and progress of the nation than the king who would have burnt him at the stake if he could.

John Wycliffe. — The first complete English translation of the Bible was the work of John Wycliffe, his friends and followers. He was born (about) 1315, and died in 1384. His great work, the translation of the Vulgate, or Latin Bible, into English laboured under two main defects, one internal, one external. First of all, it was *a translation of a translation*. It was, and in the age when it was executed it could only have been, a rendering into English of the Bible of the widespread Roman Catholic Church, the translation made by Jerome about the year 385 A.D., consisting of a revision of the Old Latin New Testament, and a new translation directly from the Hebrew of the Old Testament. This gradually superseded all former versions, and was known as the Vulgate. The text of the Vulgate became in the course of time very corrupt, and these corruptions of reading were reflected in Wycliffe's Bible.

In the second place, *Wycliffe's Bible was never printed until modern days*. Many readers may be surprised to learn that it first issued from the press in the year 1848. These facts do not, and ought not in any way, lessen our sense of indebtedness to Wy-

cliffe. His version preceded the invention and general use of the printing press by at least seventy years, and during all that time was circulated, as all books at that date were, in manuscript. More than one hundred and fifty manuscripts of Wycliffe's version are extant, and are among the most precious of literary treasures. The last which appeared in a bookseller's catalogue was priced at £1000 !

The work of Wycliffe and his coadjutors had an influence of the most potent kind upon the development of religious life and thought in England. But interesting and valuable as Wycliffe's version is to all who study it closely, no one can now read it without being thankful that it never became the original and model version. Even by the year 1525 its English had become archaic, and it moved somewhat stiffly within the limits prescribed by its Latin original. Here is a specimen taken from the version of Wycliffe's text, executed shortly after the reformer's death by his friend and fellow-worker, Purvey. The passage is Luke x. 30-34, and the spelling is somewhat modified.

' And Jhesu biheld, and seide, A man came doun from Jerusalem in to Jerico, and fel among theves, and thei robbiden hym, and woundiden hym, and wente awei, and leften the man half alyve. And it bifel that a prest cam doun the same weie, and passide forth, whanne he hadde seyn hym. Also a dekene, when he was bisidis the place, and saw hym, passide forth. But a Samaritan, goynge the weie, cam bisidis hym ; and he saw hym, and had ruth on hym ; and cam to hym, and bound together his woundis, and helde in oyle and wyne : and laid hym on his beast, and ledde in to an ostrië (inn), and dyd the cure of hym.'

The Golden Legend.—The first printed English book in which any portion of the Scriptures ap-

peared was the *Golden Legend*, translated by William Caxton from French and Latin originals, and issued by the father of English printing. It was the largest book printed by Caxton, and even he found it no easy task to accomplish. The first edition appeared in 1483. The work consists of a large number of legends of saints and martyrs and bishops and monks, some very beautiful, many full of the grossest superstition. It was written in Latin by Jacobus de Voragine, an Italian prelate, who was born in 1230, and who died in 1298. The *Golden Legend* was first printed about 1470, in Latin, and for the next sixty years no book save the Bible was so frequently reprinted. Caxton, who was shrewd and far-seeing, the keen man of affairs rather than the martyr, was, apparently, quite alive to the benefit that an English Bible would confer upon his countrymen. But he was equally aware of the tremendous risk to be run by the man who should attempt this task. Caxton chose a middle course. He printed this collection of monkish legends as a book not obnoxious to the ecclesiastical authorities, and he inserted into it a very much larger number of Bible stories and Bible words than any other edition of the *Golden Legend* contains. In this way the English reader was enabled to gather the outlines of the Gospel history and also of Old Testament story from Adam to Job. The special insertions made by Caxton practically covered the whole of the Old Testament narrative, and a small portion also of the Apocrypha. As the only book in which for about twenty-five years Englishmen had access in a printed form to any part of God's Word, this sumptuous volume deserves to be held in reverence. We quote one example of

what Caxton describes as 'Shortly taken out of the Bible . . . and but little touched.' Here is a famous incident in the life of David as it stands in the 1483 edition of the *Golden Legend*.

'And when his oldest brother heard him speak to the people, he was wroth with him, and said, Wherefore art thou come hither and hast left the few sheep in the desert? I know well thy pride, thou art come for to see the battle. And David said, What have I done? Is it not as the people have said? I dare fight wel with this giant, and declined from his brother to other of the people. And all this was shewed to Saul, and David was brought to him, and said to Saul, I thy servant shall fight against this giant, if thou wilt. And Saul said to him, Thou mayest not withstand this Philistine, nor fight against him, for thou art but a child; this giant hath been a fighter from his childhood. David said to Saul, I thy servant kept my father's sheep, and there came a lion and a bear, and took away a wether from the middle of my flock, and I pursued after, and took it again from their mouths, and they arose and would have devoured me, and I caught them by the jaws and slew them. I thy servant slew the lion and the bear, therefore this Philistine uncircumcised shall be one of them. I shall now go and deliver Israel from this opprobrium and shame. How is this Philistine uncircumcised so hardy to curse the host of the living God? And yet said David, The Lord that kept me from the might of the lion and from the strength of the bear, He shall well deliver me from the power of this Philistine. Saul then said to David, Go, and our Lord be with thee.'

CHAPTER II.

WILLIAM TINDALE AND HIS WORK.

William Tindale.—The Bible of the English-speaking nations was very largely the work of one heroic, simple-minded, scholarly man, William Tindale.¹ After Tindale there came a great army of workers, from Coverdale, his friend and fellow-labourer, down to the men who completed the revision of 1881.

This great army of workers who have devoted so much labour, thought and scholarship to the improvement of the English Bible have done little more than polish up and improve Tindale's work. We now know much more accurately than was possible in 1520 to 1525 what is the true text of the New Testament. Scholarship has developed, and in a great number of minute ways the first English Bible has been improved. Nevertheless, it was given to William Tindale under God's grace to be the *first* great worker. He was fitted for his task by a discipline that none but a noble nature could have sustained. He entered deeply into the abiding spirit of the Bible by close study, and intimate knowledge of the original Greek and Hebrew texts, before he began to translate. He sought to render the Bible into English that his fellow-countrymen might rejoice in the same liberty and salvation

¹ This spelling is adopted as being unquestionably the correct form.

which Jesus Christ had revealed to him. In this work the fact that king and church and all in authority were against him, only made him the more determined to accomplish it. He knew well that his life would be forfeited, and for having given England the Word of God in simple, clear and abiding English, in 1536, eleven years after his first New Testament appeared, he suffered martyrdom at Vilvorde, near Brussels. The English Bible bears throughout its phraseology the impress of a wholly consecrated life.

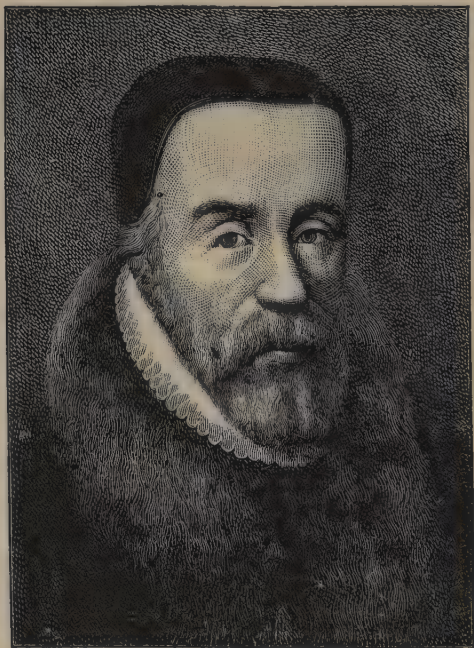
It was this combination—the right spirit, actuating the right man, at the right epoch of English history—which gives Tindale his pre-eminence. He says in his carefully revised and corrected edition of the New Testament published at Antwerp in 1534 :

‘ I have also in many places set light in the margin to understand the text by. If any man find faults either with the translation or aught beside (*which is easier for many to do than so well to have translated it themselves of their own pregnant wits at the beginning without forensample*), to the same it shall be lawful to translate it themselves.’

Tindale here touches upon his great feat. He had no ‘forensample ;’ and it was much better so. The greatness of the man can now, after the lapse of more than three centuries, be measured by the permanence and influence of his work.

Tindale’s Early Life.—Of Tindale’s early life very little is known in addition to what Foxe tells us. He was born about the year 1490, in Gloucestershire, possibly at Slymbridge. Foxe simply says (first edition, page 520) : ‘ This goodman, William Tyndall, the faithful minister and constant martyr of Christ, was born upon the borders of Wales, and brought up

even of a child in the Universitie of Oxford, being alwayes of most upright maners and pure lyfe.' In his later editions Foxe added, 'where he, by long continuance grew up, and increased as well in the



WILLIAM TINDALE.

knowledge of tongues, and other liberal arts, as especially in the knowledge of the Scriptures, whereunto his mind was singularly addicted; insomuch that he, lying then in Magdalen Hall, read privily to

certain students and fellows of Magdalen College, some parcel of divinity; instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the Scriptures.' Recent research¹ has shown that a certain William Hychyns, scholar in arts, was admitted to the degree of Bachelor, July 4, 1512, and to that of Master of Arts, July 2, 1515. As it is known that Tindale in his books often referred to himself as William Hychyns, though not absolutely certain, it is highly probable that the above dates are those of his graduation. From Oxford Tindale went to Cambridge, and about the year 1520 or 1521 he became tutor to the children of Sir John Walsh, at Little Sodbury, in Gloucestershire.

Tindale at Little Sodbury.—In all probability Tindale acted, after the fashion of those days, rather as a chaplain to the household than as tutor to 'Master Welch's' children. The residence at Little Sodbury proved the turning-point in Tindale's life. Again we quote Foxe: As Sir John Walsh 'kept a good ordinary commonly at his table, there resorted to him many times sundry Abbots, Deans, Archdeacons, with other divers Doctors, and great benefited men; who there, together with Master Tyndall sitting at the same table, did use many times to enter communication, and talk of learned men, as of Luther and of Erasmus; also of divers other controversies and questions upon the Scripture. Then Master Tyndall, as he was learned and well practised in God's matters, so he spared not to show unto them simply and plainly his judgment in matters, as he

¹ *Register of the University of Oxford.* Edited by the Rev. C. W. BOASE, M.A. Vol. I., pages ix.—xi.

thought ; and when they at any time did vary from Tyndall in opinions and judgment, he would show them in the book, and lay plainly before them the open and manifest places of the Scriptures, to confute their errors, and confirm his sayings. And thus continued they for a certain season, reasoning and contending together divers and sundry times, till at length they waxed weary, and bare a secret grudge in their hearts against him.'

It was at this time that Tindale began his work as a translator, and thinking that he might convince some by the authority of Erasmus, who refused to be persuaded by his own arguments and by Scripture, he rendered into English a book written in Latin by Erasmus, called *The Manual of a Christian Soldier*. This was a famous book at that time, and had been translated into many European languages. It was a bold, outspoken protest against the whole method of theological study of that age, and against the wicked lives of so many of the monks and friars. 'Those things which pertain to faith,' it asserts, 'let them be expressed in the fewest possible articles ; those which pertain to good living, let them also be expressed in few words, and so expressed that men may understand that the yoke of Christ is easy and light, and not harsh ; that they may see that in the clergy they have found fathers and not tyrants, pastors and not robbers ; that they are invited to salvation, and not dragged to slavery.'

There is no record that this translation was ever printed, but Tindale appears to have lent it to such as cared to read it, and especially to Sir John Walsh and his wife ; and 'after they had read and well

perused the same, the Doctorly Prelates were no more so often called to the house, neither had they the cheer and countenance when they came as before they had ; which thing they marking, and well perceiving, and supposing no less but it came by the means of Master Tyndall, refrained themselves, and at last utterly withdrew, and came no more there.'

Having won over Sir John Walsh and his wife, and thus established himself firmly at Little Sodbury, Tindale began preaching in the surrounding villages, and on the College Green in Bristol. This practice at once aroused the hostility of the ignorant and violent priests, who 'raged and railed' against him in the alehouses, and misrepresented his teaching. The bishop of the diocese, after the fashion of that day, was an Italian prelate, living in Italy ; and Wolsey, who farmed the revenues, was also non-resident, so that Tindale might have been left in peace, had not the chancellor who administered local matters happened to possess a keen scent for heresy. At a special sitting all the priests of the neighbourhood were summoned to appear, Tindale being of course included. He went, and has himself told what took place. 'When I came before the chancellor, he threatened me grievously, and reviled me, and rated me as though I had been a dog ; and laid to my charge whereof there could be none accuser brought forth.' He seems to have successfully refuted the charges, and to have escaped without any penalty. But he began to see that ignorance and superstition and wickedness die hard. The men with whom he reasoned were more likely to turn and rend him than to prize the pearls of truth he cast before them. He

unburdened his soul to a friend in the neighbourhood, a man who had held the post of chancellor to a bishop, who put into language what Tindale had long been thinking. 'Do you not know,' he said, 'that the pope is very antichrist, whom the Scripture speaketh of? But beware what you say; for if you shall be perceived to be of that opinion, it will cost you your life.'

Tindale's Great Resolve.—A train of thought like this having once been started, Tindale was not the man either to miss the evidences of its soundness or to shrink from its logical issue. Scripture had taught him, and could teach others. He had begun to know the truth, and the truth was setting him free from the spiritual tyranny of Rome and from any fear of man. In his Preface 'W. T. to the Reader' prefixed to the 1530 edition of his Pentateuch, and, consequently, written nearly ten years later, Tindale has traced for us his mental experience at this time. Speaking of the desire felt by the papists to suppress the Scriptures, he states: 'A thousand books had they lever (rather) to be put forth against their abominable doings and doctrines than that the Scripture should come to light . . . which thing only moved me to translate the New Testament. Because I *had perceived by experience*, how that it was impossible to establish the lay-people in any truth, except the Scripture were plainly laid before their eyes in their mother-tongue, that they might see the process, order and meaning of the text: for else, whatsoever truth is taught them these enemies of all truth quench it again.'

Hence, not long after his visit to his friend, in a

discussion with a divine, 'recounted for a learned man,' Tindale drove him to this rash assertion: 'We were better without God's laws than the pope's.' To this Tindale rejoined, 'I defy the pope and all his laws; *If God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the Scripture than thou dost.*' These words set forth the toil to which henceforth his life was to be devoted.

The Greek Testament of Erasmus.—The publication of a complete Greek Testament by Erasmus in 1516 had given a great impulse to New Testament study, and among others, and much more than others, Tindale worked in this field. Like Luther, the more he came to know of the New Testament, the less successful was he in reconciling with its precepts and teachings the practices and beliefs of the Roman Church. We have traced above that as Tindale came more and more to recognize how far the church had wandered from apostolic doctrine, and how gross and baneful were the errors and sins of the clergy, he saw clearly that the influence which was setting himself free from spiritual bondage could alone avail for the people of England. They certainly could not learn to read Greek or even Latin in any appreciable numbers, to say nothing of Hebrew. But if they could have free access to the Word of God in their native tongue, much might be hoped, and much might be done.

At first Tindale seems to have expected that the result of Scripture study upon his own mind was only an illustration of what the truth would do for all. But in so doing he failed to allow for the natural evil

of the human heart, for vested interests, for the fact that sometimes when the face of truth is clearly seen, 'men love darkness rather than light because their deeds are evil.'

Tindale in London.—As Tindale's purpose became known, in and about Little Sodbury, his opponents grew more and more bitter against him, and at length he resolved to go to London, and there see what help he could get for his great undertaking. He reached London in July or August, 1523. The first flush of Henry VIII.'s successes was over, and troubles were beginning. Wars and pleasures had emptied the treasury, and Wolsey, who had little love for parliaments, was compelled to summon a parliament, and then to submit to a tardy and partial grant of his demands for money. Into the midst of the angry discussions, the rival sections, the pomp, the pleasure, the wickedness of the capital, Tindale came. He looked out upon all things with the clear, unclouded vision of a pure soul, and he saw much in the actions and words of men which, when tested by Scripture, became utterly corrupt. We cannot do better than tell in his own words how he fared.

Tunstal, Bishop of London, had a reputation for learning and liberality to scholars, and had been praised by Erasmus. 'Then thought I,' writes Tindale, 'if I might come to this man's service, I were happy. . . . But God (which knoweth what is within hypocrites) saw that I was beguiled, and that that counsel was not the next way to my purpose. And therefore He gat me no favour in my lord's sight, whereupon my lord answered me, his house was full, he had more than he could well find, and

advised me to seek in London, where he said I could not lack a service. And so in London I abode almost a year, and marked the course of the world, and heard our praters (I would say preachers) how they boasted themselves and their high authority; and beheld the pomps of our prelates, and how busied they were, as they yet are, to set peace and unity in the world, and saw things whereof I defer to speak at this time, and understood at the last not only that there was no room in my lord of London's palace to translate the New Testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all England, as experience doth now openly declare.'

After this year's experience of London life, Tindale came to see clearly that the work was greater than he at first imagined. He could expect nothing from those high in rank, least of all from those who claimed to be in an especial degree the shepherds of Christ's flock, and slowly he was driven to the conviction that the work could not be done in England. Here came his testing time. Why then should he trouble further? And here shines forth the great personality that has so unalterably moulded the English Bible. If the work could only be done in exile, in secret, and in peril of life, these were but potent reasons why it should be done, and done quickly and well. It is this whole-souled, absolute loss of self in his work that places Tindale in the position which Foxe aptly describes by the words, 'the apostle of England.'

These facts need to be borne in mind by all who wish to form a true judgment about the character of the English Bible. They not only developed his noble self-sacrifice, but they also in many not un-

important particulars determined the character of Tindale's work.

The Printing of the first English New Testament.—In May, 1524, Tindale went to Hamburg, and then, in all probability, visited Wittenberg, and during a stay of some months completed there his translation of the New Testament. For reasons that can now only be guessed at, when the work was nearly finished he went to Cologne, a town then famous for its printers, to get the book into type.

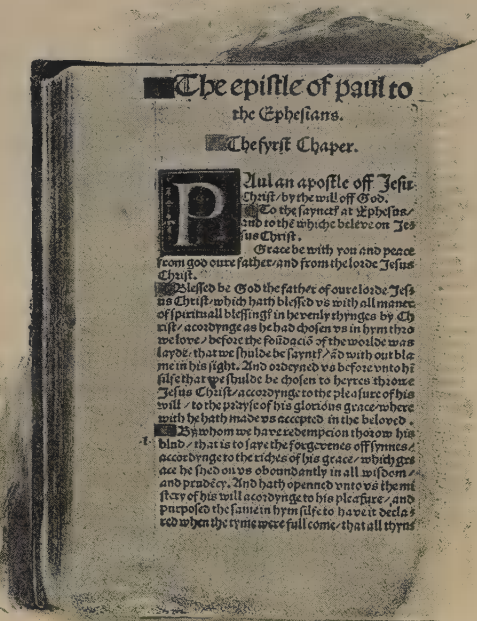
At first all went well. A printer named Peter Quentel undertook the work, an edition of 3000 was decided upon; and day by day Tindale saw the end of his long labour of love drawing near. But he was once again to feel the bitterness of hope deferred, and once again to find how powerful to hinder good work one misguided man may be. At the very time when the New Testament was taking on its English dress, Quentel was also printing a book for one of the most watchful and rancorous enemies of the Reformation, John Cochlaeus. This man, in a book written years afterwards, tells us he learnt that in Cologne 'were two Englishmen lurking, learned, skilful in languages, eloquent, whom, however, he never could see or converse with. Inviting, therefore, some printers to his lodging, after they were excited with wine, one of them in private conversation disclosed to him the secret by which England was to be drawn over to the party of Luther, viz., that there were at that very time in the press 3000 copies of the Lutheran New Testament, translated into the English language, and that they had advanced as far as the letter K in the order of the sheets.'

This information, correct in all points except that the work being printed was *not* a translation of the 'Lutheran New Testament,' at once enraged Cochlaeus and aroused him to instant action. An order prohibiting the printing was obtained from the Senate of Cologne; but Tindale and his amanuensis, Roye, warned of their danger, collected the sheets already printed, and sailed up the Rhine to Worms. Cochlaeus sent tidings of his discovery to Henry VIII., Cardinal Wolsey, and to the Bishop of Rochester, in order that the English ports might be strictly watched.

Nothing daunted, Tindale was no sooner safe in Worms than he began to urge on his great undertaking. The size and style of the book were altered, and 3000 copies of an *octavo* edition were printed, and probably very soon afterwards the original *quarto* edition was completed, making in all 6000 precious volumes. There are many interesting details connected with these two editions which we have no space here to consider, and which belong more to the bibliographer than to the general reader. The problems are rendered more difficult of solution from the fact that of the 3000 *quarto* copies only one mutilated fragment has come down to us, and of the 3000 *octavo* copies only two are now known to exist.

These books reached England in 1526, and from that hour Tindale's work has been exerting an influence for good infinitely beyond any human means of estimate. Naturally enough, the book was speedily condemned by the authorities and bishops. With a chancellor like Cardinal Wolsey, and bishops like Tunstal, the last thing desired was the popularisation of New Testament teaching. The great majority of

bishops and clergy were either ignorant of the Word of God, or unmindful of its teaching. And they were keen enough to see that many of their rights



A PAGE OF TINDALE'S OCTAVO NEW TESTAMENT, 1525.

and prerogatives were not worth five years' purchase if the common people, after reading the New Testament, began to compare the Church of the Apostles with the Romish Church under Henry VIII.

Hence it is not surprising that very near the octagonal pavement in St. Paul's Churchyard, hard by the eastern end of the great cathedral, where in those days stood Paul's Cross, and where now the pigeons are daily fed, in 1526 Tindale's translation should have been burnt, as a book full of pestilent errors.

Fortunately we are able to judge for ourselves what and how great were the errors. Out of those 6,000 books printed at Cologne and Worms in 1525, only three are known to exist. One, wanting a good many leaves, is the greatest literary treasure of the library of the Metropolitan Cathedral, at whose door many like it were solemnly burnt in 1526. Another, wanting only the title-page, is carefully preserved in the library of the Baptist College at Bristol. The British Museum possesses a few pages of the Gospel of Matthew, chapters i.-xxii. 12, the only fragment known to exist of the original 3,000 begun at Cologne. The octavo copy was published in beautiful facsimile by the late Francis Fry of Bristol, and the quarto, known as the Grenville Fragment, from having once been in the possession of the Right Honourable Thomas Grenville, has been published in facsimile with a valuable and exhaustive introduction by Mr. Arber.

Examples of Tindale's 1525 translation.—To enable the reader to judge how well Tindale did his work as a translator, and how far he fixed both the quality and to a very large extent the words and phrases of the English New Testament, we shall quote two passages, both illustrating how largely the Authorized Version and the Revised Version have retained the words and phrases of the Testament of 1525.

Take, for example, two familiar instances, one from the Gospel of John, and the other from the Epistle to the Colossians.

John x. 7-10, in Tindale's 1525 Testament, runs thus, the spelling being modernized :—

'Then said Jesus unto them again, Verily, verily, I say unto you, *that* I am the door of the sheep. All, *even as many as* came before me, are thieves and robbers ; but the sheep did not hear them. I am the door : by me if any man enter in, he shall be *safe*, and shall go in and out, and find pasture. The thief cometh not but for to steal, and kill, and destroy. I *came* that they might have life, and have it more abundantly.'

The only words in this passage not in the Authorized Version, are those printed in italics, that is, a total of seven words out of eighty-seven. The only words added by the Authorized Version, and not in Tindale, are *that ever*, instead of 'even as many as,' in v. 8 ; *saved*, instead of 'safe,' in v. 9 ; the insertion of *to* before the verbs 'kill' and 'destroy,' and *am come* for 'came,' in v. 10 : four alterations in all.

For immediate comparison we print here the Revised Version of the same passage :—

'Jesus therefore said unto them again, Verily, verily, I say unto you, I am the door of the sheep. All that came before me, are thieves and robbers : but the sheep did not hear them. I am the door : by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved, and shall go in and go out, and shall find pasture. The thief cometh not but that he may steal, and kill, and destroy. I am come that they may have life, and may have it abundantly.'

We find it omits entirely the following words from Tindale : *that*, in v. 7, and *more*, in v. 10. It alters the order of words once or twice, and substitutes the following improvements : *therefore*, for 'then,' in v. 7 ; *all that*, for 'all, even as many as,' in v. 8 ; *saved*, for

'safe,' and repeats *go* before 'out,' and *shall* before 'find,' in v. 9; *but that he may*, for 'but for to,' *may have*, for 'might have,' in v. 10. Hence the Revised Version drops two out of Tindale's 87 words, and it leaves 77 just as he rendered them in the 1525 Testament.

Now take a specimen, chosen almost at random, from the Epistles, Colossians i. 9-17:—

'For this cause we also, since the day we heard of it, have not ceased praying for you, and desiring that ye might be fulfilled with the knowledge of his will in all wisdom and spiritual understanding, that ye might walk worthy of the Lord in all things that please, being fruitful in all good works, and increasing in the knowledge of God; strengthened with all might through his glorious power, unto all patience and longsuffering with joyfulness; giving thanks unto the father, which hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of saints in light. Which hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear son; in whom we have redemption through his blood, that is to say forgiveness of sins; which is the image of the invisible god, first begotten before all creatures, for by him were all things created, things that are in heaven and things that are in earth, things visible and things invisible, whether they be majesty, or lordship, or rule, or power; all things are created by him, and in him; and he is before all things, and in him all things have their being.'

This is not one of the easiest passages in the Epistle, and it is one, moreover, into which recent research has introduced some important variations of reading. But a careful comparison with the Authorized Version and Revised Version will show that, whilst the number of small changes is considerable, the passage is still, for all practical purposes, Tindale's version. To him we owe the felicitous phrases: 'Meet to be partakers of the inheritance of saints in light,' 'which delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of His dear Son'; 'The image of the in-

visible God.' Out of the 202 words, 138 stand in the R.V. exactly as they did in 1525, and many of the changes introduced by both Authorized Version and Revised Version are but slight verbal improvements upon Tindale; as, for example, 'ceased to pray,' for 'ceased praying.' A careful comparison of the extracts with the texts of 1611 and of 1881 will prove an interesting and instructive exercise.

The passage in John is an illustration—and hundreds more could be produced if need be—which shows how largely the very words of Tindale have been retained in the English Bible. The extract from Colossians—a confessedly difficult Epistle to translate—shows how even the Revised Version has done little more than give exacter renderings of Greek tenses, and, in a lesser degree, more strictly accurate renderings of the more difficult words. As the Revisers say in their preface, the Authorized Version 'was the work of many hands, and several generations. The foundation was laid by William Tindale. His translation of the New Testament was the true primary version. The versions that followed were either substantially reproductions of Tindale's translation in its final shape, or revisions of versions that had been themselves almost entirely based upon it.' Neither the scholars of James the First's day, nor the revisers of 1881, produced a new translation; in both cases their work was the revision of a superb primary version.

Did Tindale translate from the Greek?—

The *octavo* edition of the 1525 Testament was published without prologues, marginal notes, or chapter headings. It gave only the text of Scripture, save

that at the end Tindale appended a brief address 'To the Reder' filling three pages. There are no flattering dedications to king or prelate, and there is no hint of the translator's name. The reason why he did not append his name, Tindale gives in the preface to his *Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, published in 1528. But having become charged with deeds of which he himself did not approve, done by his amanuensis Roye, Tindale adopted the practice of putting his name to his work. 'The cause why I set my name before this little treatise, and have not rather done it in the New Testament, is, that there I followed the counsel of Christ, which exhorteth men (Matt. vi.) to do their good deeds secretly, and to be content with the conscience of well-doing, and that God seeth us; and patiently to abide the reward of the last day, which Christ hath purchased for us: and now would I have fain done likewise, but am compelled otherwise to do.'

The *quarto* edition, begun at Cologne, had a lengthy prologue and many marginal notes. In appearance, this edition was intended to resemble Luther's 1522 German Testament, although that was folio in size. This fact may have led to the erroneous impression, so often inaccurately asserted since, that Tindale merely turned Luther's Testament into English. Careful study of his text shows that he translated direct from the text of the Greek Testament of Erasmus. Of this, three editions had been issued 1516, 1519, 1522. He made great use of the new Latin version printed in parallel columns, which Erasmus had inserted in his editions, and also of the 1522 edition of Luther. He also consulted the Vulgate. But he

used all these helps with the independent judgment and the power of a scholar. He took from them readily what he judged suitable for his purpose; he refused to follow closely any one of them, except the Greek text. Thus he broke free from ecclesiastical habit, used 'congregation' for 'church,' 'elder' for 'priest,' and wherever possible used words to which no exclusive ecclesiastical sense attached. In the prologue to the quarto fragment, he inserted two pages taken almost word for word from Luther, so he constantly consulted Luther's text; but only ignorance or wilful prejudice can affirm that Tindale's text is merely a *translation* of Luther.

Tindale's Marginal Notes.—Out of ninety-one marginal notes, or 'pestilent glosses,' as the bishops called them, forty-eight are wholly or partly from Luther, while forty-three are Tindale's own. Many of them exhibit a profound insight into Scripture, and throw a vivid light upon many a passage. For instance, against the verse, 'Whatsoever ye bind on earth shall be bound in heaven,' Tindale notes, 'Here *all* bind and loose,' a statement cutting at the root of sacerdotal claims of both pope and ritualist. Against the words, 'If thine eye be single, all thy body is full of light,' he writes, 'The eye is single when a man in all his deeds looketh but on the will of God, and looketh not for laud, honour, or any other reward in this world; neither ascribeth heaven or a higher room in heaven unto his deeds: but accepteth heaven as a thing purchased by the blood of Christ, and worketh freely for love's sake only.'

The Prologue to the Grenville Fragment.—The address at the end of the octavo deals with the

right use of Scripture, and the duty of translating it, and making it known. The prologue to the quarto is longer, and enables us to look into Tindale's very heart. It is through writings like this that in the enjoyment

The xiiij. Chapter.

The same daye wentt Iesus
out of the houlfe/and satt by the see syde/and mo-
che people resorted vnto him/so gretly that he wēt
and sat in a shyppe/and all the people stode on the

shore. And he spake many thyngs to them in similitud / sa-
yinge: beholde / the sower went forth to sowe / and as he so-
wed / some fell by the wayes syde / the sowlls cā / and deuour-
ed it uppe. Some fell apon stony grounde where it had nōt
moche erth / and anon it spronge appe / because it had no deapth
of erth: and when the son was vppe / hit canth heet / and
for lake of rotyng wyddred awaye. Some fell amonge thorns
/ and the thornes arose / and choofed it. Parte fell in
goode grounde / and broght forth good frute: some an hun-
dred fold / some fifti fold / some thyrty folde. Whosoever hath
eares to heare / let him heare.

¶ And hys disciples cam / and sayde to him: Why speakest
thou to them in parables: he answered and saide vnto them:
Hit is geuen vnto you to knowe the secretts of the kyngdome
of heven / but to them it is nōt geuen. For whosoever
hath / to him shal hit be geuen: and he shal have abundan-
ce: But whosoever hath nōt: from him shalbe takyn a
waye evē that same that he hath. Therefore speake I to them
in similitud: for though they se / they se nōt: and hearynge
they heare not: neither vnderstonde. And in them ys fulfylled
the prophesy of esay / which prophesi sayth: with youre eares
ye shall heare / and shall not vnderstode / and with youre eyes
ye shall se / and shall not perceave. For this peoples hert ys

She that hath. whe
re the worde of god
is vnderstode / the
re hit multiplieth &
makith the poeple
better. where hit is
not vnderstode / th'
eare hit decauseth
& makith the poeple
woorse.

PART OF A PAGE OF THE GRENVILLE FRAGMENT (TINDALE'S
1525 NEW TESTAMENT, QUARTO).

of our manifold blessings and privileges, we can see
what manner of men they were who died in the dark
ages of the past to win religious freedom.

Tindale's modesty and singleness of purpose

appear clearly in the opening paragraph, where he exhorts the readers, 'if they perceive in any places that I have not attained the very sense of the tongue, or meaning of the Scripture, or have not given the right English word, that they put to their hands to amend it, remembering that so is their duty to do. For we have not received the gifts of God for ourselves only, or for to hide them; but for to bestow them unto the honouring of God and Christ, and edifying of the congregation, which is the body of Christ.'

Later on he shows how Christ sets men free from the judgment of the Law. 'When we hear the law truly preached, how that we ought to love and honour God with all our strength and might, from the low bottom of the heart; and our neighbours (yea, our enemies) as ourselves, inwardly, from the ground of the heart, and to do whatsoever God biddeth, and abstain from whatsoever God forbiddeth, with all love and meekness, with a fervent and a burning lust, from the centre of the heart, then beginneth the conscience to rage against the law, and against God. No sea (be it never so great a tempest) is so unquiet. It is not possible for a natural man to consent to the law, that it should be good, or that God should be righteous which maketh the law. Man's wit, reason, and will are so fast glued, yea, nailed and chained unto the will of the devil. Neither can any creature loose the bonds save the blood of Christ.

'This is the captivity and bondage whence Christ delivered us, redeemed and loosed us. His blood, His death, His patience in suffering rebukes and wrongs, His prayers and fastings, His meekness and fulfilling of the utmost point of the law, appeased the

wrath of God, brought the favour of God to us again, obtained that God should love us first, and be our Father, and that a merciful Father that will consider our infirmities and weakness, and will give us His Spirit again (which was taken away in the fall of Adam) to rule, govern, and strengthen us, and to break the bonds of Satan, wherein we were so strait bound.

‘When the woeful consciences feel and taste how sweet a thing the bitter death of Christ is, and how merciful and loving God is through Christ’s purchasing and merits, they begin to love again and to consent to the law of God, how that it is good and ought so to be, and that God is righteous which made it, and desire to fulfil the law even as a sick man desireth to be whole.’

Looking then at this first great result of his labour, viz., the complete English translation of the New Testament, it is hardly too much to say that Tindale succeeded as if inspired for this special work. And he continued to toil at it with a persistence that sprang from intense love for the work, the keenest sense of its supreme importance, and a self-sacrifice willing to endure, if need be, even martyrdom. Bishop Westcott, than whom no scholar is better fitted to pass judgment, says of Tindale, in his capacity as a translator :

‘In rendering the sacred text, he remained throughout faithful to the instincts of a scholar. From first to last his style and his interpretation are his own, and in the originality of Tindale is included in a large measure the originality of our English Version.
 . . . It is of even less moment that by far the

greater part of his translation remains intact in our present Bibles, than that his spirit animates the whole. He toiled faithfully himself, and where he failed he left to those who should come after the secret of success. . . . His influence decided that our Bible should be popular, and not literary, speaking in a simple dialect, and that so by its simplicity it should be endowed with permanence.'

[Incomparably the best book for the study of Tindale's life and work in detail is *William Tyndale, A Biography*, by the Rev. R. Demaus. New Edition, revised by Richard Lovett, M.A. (R.T.S., 1886.) Much valuable information is contained in *The First Printed English New Testament*, edited by Edward Arber. Mr. Arber quotes in full most of the important references to Tindale in early sixteenth century literature. The student should also consult Mr. Fry's introduction to his facsimile reprint of the 1525 octavo. The three volumes of Tindale's works, *Doctrinal Treatises*, *Answer to Sir T. More*, and *Expositions*, published by the Parker Society, are easy to procure, and should be read by all who wish to understand Tindale's power.]

CHAPTER III.

THE PENTATEUCH OF 1530.

Tindale's Work from 1525-1530. — Immediately after the New Testament was completed, the great translator set to work upon the Old Testament Scripture. Progress was necessarily slow in obtaining a sufficient mastery of Hebrew to fitly qualify him for the task. And for this it was difficult to secure either good books or competent teachers. But Tindale never allowed difficulties to do more than hinder his work, and his version of the Pentateuch remains to this day as a witness to his skill and perseverance. Five years, however, elapsed between the publication of the New Testament and the printing of the first complete portion of the Old Testament in the English language.

It has never yet been possible to trace accurately and with certainty where Tindale lived from 1525 to 1530. The man whose life was sought by kings, prelates, statesmen and priests, was not likely to proclaim his whereabouts from the house-tops. During 1526 he lived at Worms, and either there or at Strasburg printed the famous *Prologue to the Epistle to the Romans*. In the course of 1527 he took refuge in Marburg, in Hesse-Cassel. Here he was comparatively safe, because the landgrave, Philip, was a staunch

friend of the Reformation. Here stood one of the branch offices of the far-famed printing-press of Hans Luft, and here Tindale made the acquaintance of Fryth, his 'son in the faith,' who was to obtain the martyr's crown only a few years before himself. Here Hans Luft in 1528 printed for Tindale his great book on justification by faith, entitled *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, and his still more famous *The Obedience of a Christian Man*; here, in all probability, Tindale translated the Five Books of Moses, and here certainly in 1530 Hans Luft printed them.

Tindale's Pentateuch.—The *editio princeps* of the English Pentateuch is a curious composite volume. Genesis and Numbers are printed in black letter; Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy in Roman type. The page of type is about 5 by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and there are in all 384 folios, or 768 pages. It is a thick little volume, and is embellished in Exodus with eleven curious woodcuts of 'Aaron with all his apparell,' and of the various objects contained in the tabernacle. There are eight title-pages, one to Genesis, in a fancy border, 'the fyrst boke of Moses, called Genesis'; Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, each have two title-pages, one for the prologue and one for the text, but Deuteronomy, like Genesis, has only one. At the end of Genesis is a colophon, which runs, 'Emprinted at Malborow, in the lande of Hesse, by me Hans Luft, the yere of oure Lorde, M.CCCC.XXX., the xvii. dayes of Januarii.' The book was never reprinted as a whole, nor is there any evidence for the statement not unfrequently made, that the different books were circulated separately. The Book of Genesis was reprinted in 1534, and copies are in

existence containing Genesis printed in *Roman* type, having only the second prologue (altered), and with marginal notes entirely different from those in the 1530 edition. The other four books in these copies of the so-called second edition are identical in all respects with those in the 1530 issue. The British Museum possesses a perfect copy of the 1530 issue. Henry Huth, Esq., has one lacking only one corner of the first title-page, and there are also copies in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Sion College, and the Lenox Library, New York. The Baptist College, Bristol, and the John Rylands Library contain good copies of the 1534 issue.

The Prologues to the Pentateuch. — But now to the book itself. It begins with a preface, 'W. T. to the Reader,' in which Tindale gives a most interesting account of how he came to translate the New Testament, and a scathing exposure of the incompetence of English prelates to rightly understand, or to prize the Scriptures. Then comes a 'Prologe shewing the use of Scripture,' which begins with the beautiful passage :

'Though a man had a precious jewel and rich, yet if he wist not the value thereof nor wherefore it served, he were neither the better nor richer of a straw. Even so though we read the Scripture and babble of it never so much, yet if we know not the use of it, and wherefore it was given, and what is therein to be sought, it profiteth us nothing at all. It is not enough, therefore, to read and talk of it only, but we must also desire God day and night instantly to open our eyes, and to make us understand and feel wherefore the Scripture was given, that we may apply the medicine of Scripture, every man to his own sores, unless then we intend to be idle disputers and brawlers about vain words, ever gnawing upon the bitter bark without, and never attaining unto the sweet pith within, and persecuting one another for defending of lewd imaginations and phantasies of our own invention.'

After showing that Scripture must be taken in its plain *literal* sense—a truth almost entirely lost sight of in the first half of the sixteenth century, and referring to God's dealings with Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, and others—it concludes :

' These are ensamples written for our learning (as Paul saith), to teach us to trust in God in the strong fire of tribulation and purgatory of our flesh. And that they which submit themselves to follow God should note and mark such things for their learning and comfort is the fruit of the Scripture and cause why it was written. And with such a purpose to read it is the way to everlasting life, and to those joyful blessings that are promised unto all nations in the seed of Abraham, which seed is Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be honour and praise for ever, and unto God our Father through Him, Amen.'

This prologue, the first ever printed to an English Pentateuch, might well stand in the forefront of all our Bibles to-day. All Tindale's prologues are full of most helpful exposition of Scripture. They were frequently reprinted in later editions of the English Bible, and exerted a very powerful influence upon the religious thought of the sixteenth century.

Specimens of Tindale's Pentateuch. — As specimens of Tindale's translation of the Old Testament we give two extracts, one an easy narrative, the other a difficult verse translation. The reader, by a comparison of both with the Authorized Version and Revised Version, can easily see for himself how few in number have been the subsequent alterations. The first extract is Genesis xiii. 8-10 :

' Then said Abram unto Lot : let there be no strife, I pray thee, between thee and me, and between my herdmen and thine, for we be brethren. Is not the whole land before thee ? Depart, I pray thee, from me. If thou wilt take the left hand, I will take the right ; or if thou take the right hand, I will take the left. And Lot lifted up his eyes and beheld all the country about

Jordan, which was a plenteous country of water everywhere, before the Lord destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, even as the garden of the Lord and as the land of Egypt till thou come to Zoar.'

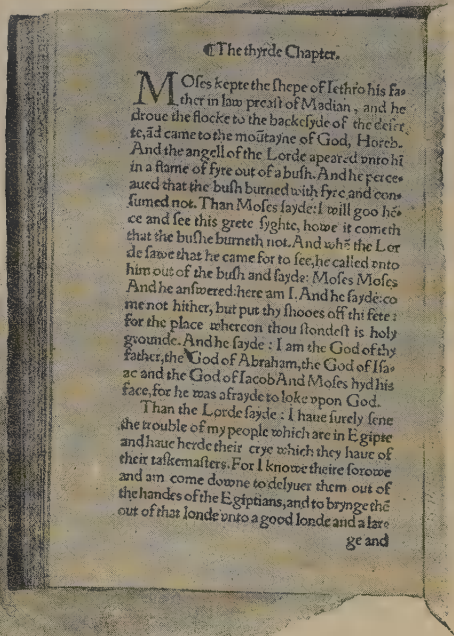
The other is Genesis xlix. 8-12 :

'Judah, thy brethren shall praise thee, and thine hand shall be in the neck of thine enemies, and thy father's children shall stoop unto thee. Judah is a lion's whelp. From spoil, my son, thou art come on hye : he laid him down and couched himself as a lion and as a lioness. Who dare stir him up? The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a ruler from between his legs, unto Shiloh come, unto whom the people shall hearken. He shall bind his foal unto the vine, and his asses colt unto the vine branch, and shall wash his garment in wine and his mantle in the blood of grapes ; his eyes are ruddier than wine, and his teeth whiter than milk.'

Did Tindale translate from the Hebrew?—

Controversy has raged over the question whether Tindale was able to translate Hebrew, and whether he did so. This is obviously a matter that can only be settled by a close scrutiny of his text, and a careful comparison of it with the Hebrew, the Vulgate and Luther's German Pentateuch. Any attempt to do this would lead us beyond the limits of this primer. But among the general considerations that bear upon the point, we may mention the following : (1) Tindale spent the years 1525 to 1530 on the Continent, where he had access to all the latest helps to scholarship, and where he could hardly fail to meet with scholars competent to teach him Hebrew. (2) He was a thorough student himself, Humfrey Monmouth, with whom he lived in London in 1523, saying of him, 'he studied most part of the day and of the night at his book'; (3) Buschius when living at Spire, only twenty miles from Worms, writing about Tindale in 1526, states that he knew seven languages, and he places Hebrew first on

the list. (4) Tindale himself at the end of the prologue to Genesis says that he submits his work to all them that submit themselves to God, 'to be corrected of



A PAGE OF TINDALE'S PENTATEUCH, 1530.

them, yea and moreover to be disallowed and also burned, if it seem worthy *when they have examined it with the Hebrew*, so that they first put forth of their

own translating another that is more correct.' It is inconceivable that Tindale would have written words like these had he not been himself able to translate from the Hebrew. Scattered throughout his notes and books are a large number of references to Hebrew words, and to points of Hebrew grammar, quite irreconcilable with any theory of his ignorance of Hebrew. See, as one out of a large number that might be quoted, the first note following.

At the end of Genesis is a curious collection of explanations and notes, from which we take the following :

Marshall. In Hebrew he is called Sartabaim, as thou wouldest say, lord of the slaughtermen ; and though that Tabaim be taken for cooks in many places, for the cooks did slay the beasts themselves in those days, yet it may be taken for them that put men to execution also (Tindale's version of Genesis xl. 2 is, 'And Pharaoh was angry with them, and put them in ward in his chief marshal's house.' A.V. and R.V. : 'Captain of the guard').

'Enoch walked with God, and was no more seen ; that is, he lived godly and died, God took him away ; that is, God hid his body, as he did Moses and Aaron's ; lest haply they should have made an idol of him, for he was a great preacher and a holy man.'

'See therefore that thou look not on the ensamples of Scripture with worldly eyes ; lest thou prefer Cain before Abel, Ishmael before Isaac, Esau before Jacob, Reuben before Judah, Sarah before Pharez, Manasseh before Ephraim, and even the worst before the best, as the manner of the world is.'

The Marginal Notes.—Each of the five books contains marginal notes. Many of these are extremely strong comments upon the Roman Catholic ceremonies and practices, showing how unscriptural they are. Tindale has been severely attacked for printing these in a copy of God's Word. But it must be borne in mind that his great object was to arouse the con-

science of his countrymen to the errors and superstitions of a corrupt church, and to give them in the place of these the pure truth of God. He did this at the risk of his own life, the men whose errors of conduct and doctrine he exposed were hunting him to death, and in Tindale's view their greatest crime was that they would neither seek the truth themselves nor would they allow the people to possess it. Judged in the light of these facts, his action will receive no condemnation from those who share his belief in the supreme importance to both the individual and the nation of an accurate knowledge of and an unswerving obedience to the will of God. No one would maintain now that it is either desirable or wise to cumber the margins of our Bibles with controversial notes. But this is by no means the same thing as to condemn Tindale. God's Word is in every one's hand, and if a man to-day is led away by unscriptural practices or by unsound doctrine, it is his own fault, and upon himself the responsibility rests. Even Tindale, in accordance with his own lofty principle of the absolute sufficiency and supremacy of God's Word, in the 1534 Genesis omitted almost all the controversial notes, inserting many others that were purely explanatory.

But that the reader may judge for himself, we quote a few of these notes :—

GENESIS iv. 15.—Of this place no doubt the pope which in all things maketh himself equal with God, took an occasion to mark all his creatures : and to forbid under pain of excommunication that no man (whether he were king or emperor) be so hardy to punish them for whatsoever mischief they do. The crown is to them a license to do what they list, a protection and a sure sanctuary.

GENESIS ix. 5.—This law and such like to execute, were kings and rulers ordained of God, wherefore they ought not to suffer the popes Caines¹ thus to shed blood theirs not shed again, neither yet to set up their abominable sanctuaries and neck verses² clean against the ordinance of God, but unto their damnation.

GENESIS xlvii. 22.—The blind guides get privileges from bearing with their brethren contrary to Christ's law of love. And of these priests of idols did our compassing ivy trees learn to creep up by little and little and to compass the great trees of the world with hypocrisy and to thrust the roots of idolatrous superstition in to them and to suck out the juice of them with their poetry, till all be sere boughs and no thing green save their own commonwealth.

EXODUS vii. 11.—Even so do our charmers now deceive all princes with their sophistry and turn them clean from repentance toward the law of God and from the faith that is in Christ.

EXODUS xii. 26.—Our signs be dumb, we know not the reason of our baptism; yea and we must say our prayers and our belief in a tongue we understand not. And yet if we answer not our prelates when they be angry even as they would have it, we must to the fire without redemption, or forswear God.

EXODUS xiii. 8.—The fathers nowadays may not be suffered to know ought of God themselves, how can they then teach their children what the ceremony meaneth.

EXODUS xxviii. 4.—From hence unto the book's end and throughout all the next book, thou shalt see what moved the pope and whence he took the fashion of the garments and ornaments that are now used in the church and the manner of hallowing of the church altar, chalice, font, bells, and so forth, and is become as it were a priest of the old law and hath brought us into captivity as it were under the ceremonies of the old law, save theirs spake and ours be dumb.

EXODUS xxxii. 32.—O pitiful Moses, and likewise O merciful

¹ Cains. In the notes at the end of Genesis, Tindale says, 'Cain, so it is written in Hebrew, notwithstanding whether we call him Cain or Caim it maketh no matter.'

² When charged with a criminal offence, an offender who claimed the privileges of the cleric, was not allowed them unless he could repeat a verse of the Bible in Latin, generally Psalm li. 1. Hence these came to be called 'neck-verses,' as the power to repeat them sometimes saved a man from the hangman.

Paul Roma. ix. And O abominable pope with all his merciless idols.

EXODUS xxxiii. 16.—The popish say, my church, my parish my diocese, and the monks and friars say all is ours.

EXODUS xxxiv. 20.—That is a good text for the pope. (The text is, 'And see that no man appear before me empty.')

EXODUS xxxvi. 6.—When will the pope say hoo, and forbid to offer for the building of Saint Peter's church : and when will our spirituality say hoo, and forbid to give the more land and to make more foundations? never verily until they have all.

It would be a great mistake to suppose that all the notes were so fiercely controversial as these. Here are a few examples showing how clearly Tindale apprehended the great evangelical truths of Scripture.

LEVITICUS vi. 5.—Unto my neighbour pertaineth satisfaction, but unto God repentance ; and then the sacrifice of Christ's blood is a full satisfaction, and atonement, and appeasing of all wrath.

LEVITICUS x. 1.—Hereof ye see the fruit of a man's good intent without God's word. As we may do no less, so doth this ensample teach that we may do no more than is commanded.

LEVITICUS x. 3.—God is sanctified when we obey Him and mortify our will to do His.

LEVITICUS xx. 5.—If we transgress God's commandments we may haply escape worldly judges, but we cannot avoid the fierce wrath of God, but it will surely find us out.

LEVITICUS xxvi. 42.—Mercy is never denied unto him that repenteth.

DEUTERONOMY vi. 25.—The outward deed is righteousness unto the avoiding of punishment, threatenings and curses, and to obtain temporal blessings : but unto the life to come thou must have the righteousness of faith and thereby receive forgiveness of sins and promise of inheritance and power to work of love.

DEUTERONOMY xiii. 4.—God giveth us His word and confirmeth it with miracles to prove who hath a true heart. We must take heed to the Scripture, lest false prophets, or false miracles deceive us.

DEUTERONOMY xviii. 15.—Christ is here promised a preacher of better tidings than Moses.

DEUTERONOMY xix. 6.—As hate maketh the deed evil, so love maketh it good.

In fact, we have quoted these notes and extracts because for the general reader of to-day much of the interest in Tindale's Pentateuch centres in the prologues and marginal notes. Questions concerning such points as the large amount of his translation which stands word for word in the Authorized Version and Revised Version, and whether he translated directly from the Hebrew, are for the student. But all can feel the power and beauty of his directions as to the right use of Scripture, and what results it produces in the heart and life.

For instance, in the prologue to Exodus, Tindale thus sums up the use of ceremonies :

'Of the ceremonies, sacrifices and tabernacle with all his glory and pomp, understand that they were not permitted only, but also commanded of God to lead the people in the shadows of Moses and night of the Old Testament until the light of Christ and day of the New Testament were come; as children are led in the phantasies of youth until the discretion of man's age be come upon them. And all was done to keep them from Idolatry.'

Where, again, can a better contrast between the Law and the Gospel be found than this?—

'The Law was given to utter sin, death, damnation and curse, and to drive unto Christ, in whom forgiveness, life, justifying and blessings were promised, that we might see so great love of God to usward in Christ that we henceforth, overcome with kindness, might love again, and of love keep the commandments.'

Here is how Tindale deals with the question of faith and works :

'If any man ask me, seeing that faith justifieth me, why I work, I answer, Love compelleth me. For as long as my soul feeleth what love God hath shewed me in Christ, I cannot but love God again, and His will and commandments, and of love work them, nor can they seem hard unto me. I think not myself better for my working, nor seek heaven nor an higher place in heaven because of it.'

‘Read God’s Word diligently, and with a good heart, and it shall teach thee all things,’ is the exhortation with which Tindale closes the prologue to the Book of Numbers; and in giving us the exhortation he is at the same time giving us the key to his own wonderful life.

[The most accessible form in which the student can consult Tindale’s Pentateuch is the reprint by Dr. Mombert, published by Bagster in 1884, entitled *William Tyndale’s Five Books of Moses*. Though the lengthy prolegomena are not always reliable in details the *text* of Tindale appears to be very faithfully reprinted in this volume.]

CHAPTER IV.

THE NEW TESTAMENT OF 1534.

AT the end of the 1525 New Testament, Tindale, in a brief address, entitled 'To the Reader,' beseeches the learned—

'to consider how that I had no man to counterfeit, neither was helped with English of any that had interpreted the same, or suchlike thing in the Scripture beforetime. Moreover, even very necessity and cumbrance (God is record) above strength, which I will not rehearse, lest we should seem to boast ourselves, caused that many things are lacking which necessarily are required. Count it as a thing not having his full shape, but, as it were, born afore his time, even as a thing begun rather than finished. In time to come (if God have appointed us thereunto), we will give it his full shape, and put out if aught be added superfluously, and add to if aught be overseen through negligence.'

In this work he asks the co-operation of the learned, and closes with the words, 'Pray for us.'

But it was not until 1534, nine years later, that Tindale was able to redeem his promise, and meanwhile none of the learned rendered him any assistance. It is true that George Joye, in August, 1534, published an edition of the New Testament, which he claimed to have diligently corrected. He did it, he asserts, because Tindale was idle. Speaking of the interval, 1525-1534, he says, 'All this while Tindale slept, for nothing came from him, as far as I could perceive.' Joye's accuracy and knowledge may be gauged by this wild statement, for during those nine years, in addition

to being in constant peril of his life, Tindale had written, in the midst of many other labours, his great books, *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, *The Practice of Prelates*, the *Answer to Sir Thomas More*, and had also translated into English and published the Pentateuch. This was a fair amount of work for the man whom Joye seems to have thought had been sleeping all this time. Hence it is not surprising to find that Joye's Testament, of which only one copy, that in the British Museum, is known to exist, should turn out to be a mere reprint of Tindale's, altered slightly, it is true, but almost invariably for the worse.

Yet, in addition to the enormous amount of work indicated above, Tindale had given much time to the fulfilment of his 1525 promise. He had carefully revised the New Testament, and in November, 1534, it was printed and published by Martin Empereur, the well-known printer of Antwerp. Copies of this little volume are extremely rare, but most precious, as giving us the riper work of the great translator. The extracts and examples given in this chapter are from a copy in the possession of the writer.

Although so long a time had elapsed since the publication of the first edition, England had not been left unsupplied with the Word of God. A number of editions of Tindale's New Testament, more or less incorrectly printed, had been issued by various Dutch printers, and sent over to England. This is an eloquent testimony to the desire on the part of the English to possess the pure Word of God, and a complete refutation of the argument, very fashionable in some quarters to-day, that the English Bible would not sell.

There may be a slight degree of truth in this statement with regard to one or two special editions, and the reasons for it could easily be set forth; but it is absolutely false as applied to Tindale's Testament, Matthew's Bible of 1537, The Great Bible, and the enormous number of editions of the Geneva Bible. It was through these that the Gospel reached the heart of the English nation in the stirring years from 1525 to 1588.

Description of the 1534 Testament.—But our purpose is to see what improvements Tindale had made in his work, and for these we must go to the text of 1534. The title runs, 'The New Testament diligently corrected and compared with the Greek by William Tindale; and finished in the year of our Lord God, 1534, in the month of November.' The book abounds with evidence of Tindale's scholarship and thoroughness. It is a small, thick octavo, very nearly the same size as the 1530 Pentateuch, the page of type measuring $5\frac{1}{8}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It is printed throughout in Black Letter. Upon the back of the first title begins an address, 'William Tindale to the Reader,' seventeen pages long, which begins thus:—

'Here thou hast, most dear reader, the new testament or covenant made with us of God in Christ's blood, which I have looked over again (now at the last) with all diligence, and have compared it unto the Greek, and have weeded out of it many faults which lack of help at the beginning and oversight did sow therein. . . . I have also, in many places, set light in the margin to understand the text by.'

Then follows 'A Prologue into the Four Evangelists, showing who and what they were, and their authority.' This occupies three and a half pages; and then comes

'William Tindale yet once more to the Christian reader,' in which he exposes the real character of George Joye and his work, nine pages. These preliminaries take up in all sixteen leaves, or thirty-two pages. A second title-page follows, and the text fills 384 leaves, or 768 pages. This is followed by 'The Epistles taken out of the Old Testament which are read in the Church,' occupying thirty-two pages. Then comes the Table of Epistles and Gospels, eighteen pages, and the book ends with explanations of seven special New Testament words and phrases, two pages. There are a large number of marginal notes.

'The Epistles taken out of the Old Testament.'—This section of the 1534 Testament is of very special value, as it contains the only examples we have of Tindale's translation of any part of the Prophets. We quote one passage, Isaiah lviii. 4-14.

'Fast not as ye now do, to make your voice to be heard up on high. Should it be such a manner of fast that I should choose, a day that a man should hurt his soul in? Or to bow down his head like a bulrush? Or to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? Shouldest thou call this a fast, and a day acceptable unto the Lord? Or is not this rather the fast that I have chosen: to loose wicked bonds and to unbind bundles of oppression; and to let the bruised go free; and that ye should break all manner yokes; yea and to break the bread to the hungry, and to bring the poor that are harbourless unto house, and when thou seest a naked that thou clothe him, and that thou shouldest [not] withdraw thyself from helping thine own flesh. Then should the light break out as does the dayspring, and then health should shortly bud out. And thy righteousness shall go before thee, and the glory of the Lord would come upon thee. Then shouldst thou call and the Lord should answer: then shouldst thou cry, and He shall say, Lo, here am I.'

Tindale as a Reviser.—We select the following examples as good illustrations of Tindale's care and

skill as a reviser. In the Parable of the Prodigal Son, the 1525 text read, 'Then he remembered himself and said, how many hired servants,' etc. In the 1534 text we get the beautiful phrase, 'Then *he came to himself* and said—' And a few verses further on the 1525 text read, 'I have sinned against heaven and before thee, now I am not worthy to be called thy son'; the 1534 reads 'I have sinned against heaven and before thee, *and am no more worthy* to be called thy son.' Again, in 1525 the opening verses of John's Gospel read,—

'In the beginning was that Word, and that Word was with God, and God was that Word. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by it, and without it was made no thing that made was. In it was life, and *the* life was the light of men. And the light shineth in *the* darkness, and (*but*) *the* darkness comprehended it not.

In 1534, in addition to the three insertions of the Word 'the' printed in italics in the above extract, the first verse reads, 'In the beginning was *the* Word, and *the* Word was with God, and *the* Word was God'; '*was made*' is substituted for the awkward 'made was' in verse 3, and *but* for 'and' in verse 5.

In verses sixteen to eighteen of the same chapter, 1525 reads—

'And of his fulness have all we received, even favour for favour. For the law was given by Moses, but favour and verity came by Jesus Christ. No man saw God at any time. The only begotten Son which is in the Father's bosom hath declared him.'

But how much more correct and how familiar to our ears is the 1534—

‘And of His fulness have all we received, even grace for grace. For the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ. No man hath seen God at any time. The only begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him.’

In the Sermon on the Mount some of the most beautiful and expressive phrases which stand in both Authorised Version and Revised Version are due to Tindale’s revision. ‘If the salt have lost her saltness,’ takes the place of the earlier, ‘If the salt be once unsavoury.’ ‘Let your light so shine before men,’ replaces, ‘See that your light so shine.’ ‘Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets, is substituted for ‘Ye shall not think that I am come.’ ‘Consider the lilies’ is immeasurably superior to the earlier, ‘Behold the lilies’; and who does not recognise the superior terseness and force in the later rendering of the close of the sermon—‘And it fell, and great was the fall thereof,’ instead of the earlier ‘It was overthrown, and great was the fall of it’?

The rendering of Ephesians v. 15–21 in the 1534 edition is as follows:—

‘Take heed, therefore, that ye walk circumspectly; not as fools, but as wise, redeeming the time, for the days are evil. Wherefore be ye not unwise, but understand what the will of the Lord is; and be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess; but be ye fulfilled with the Spirit, speaking unto yourselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody to the Lord in your hearts, giving thanks always for all things unto God the Father, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; submitting yourselves one to another in the fear of God.’

This is very nearly the exact rendering of 1525 also, but it contains one very beautiful and characteristic alteration, the substitution of the phrase, ‘making melody to the Lord,’ for the older, ‘playing to the

Lord,' an alteration which has deservedly kept its place in both Authorized Version and Revised Version.

For every illustration of Tindale's skill and care and thoroughness as a reviser given above, we might easily adduce, did space allow, a score. But enough has been said to prove that so far from being asleep, Tindale had in a wonderful degree fulfilled his promise to do what he could to improve the 1525 text.

The Marginal Notes.—And now let us look at a few of typical marginal notes. These are explanatory, hortatory, theological, but very rarely controversial. They often exhibit Tindale's knowledge of the heart of Scripture and of the heart of man. How pointed and suggestive is that on Romans xv. 1, 'We which are strong,' 'He is strong that can bear another man's weakness.' On 1 Corinthians vii. he writes—and it should be borne in mind that this was at the time when celibacy in the church was universal—'If a man have the gift, chastity is good the more quietly to serve God.' Here he spoke from experience, for he himself never married. And he continues, 'For the married have often much trouble; but if the mind of the chaste be cumbered with other worldly business, what helpeth it? And if the married be the more quiet-minded thereby, what hurteth it? Neither of itself is better than the other or pleaseth God more than the other. Neither is outward circumcision or outward baptism worth a pin of themselves, save that they put us in remembrance to keep the covenant made between us and God.' And on 1 Corinthians viii. 1, the note is, 'A little love is better than much knowledge.' The notes on the Epistle to the Hebrews are

few, but one or two give the full Gospel. On chap. vii. 27 Tindale writes, 'Christ once sacrificed purged all sins'; and on chap. xi. ver. 1, 'Faith and trust in Christ only is the life and quietness of the conscience and not trust in works, how holy soever they appear.'

On Ephesians iii. 17, 'Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith,' he writes,

'Where true faith in Christ is there is love to the neighbour; and faith and love maketh us understand all things. Faith understandeth the secrets of God, and the mercy that is given her in Christ. And love knoweth her duty to her neighbour, and can interpret all laws.'

On James ii. 12, 'the law of liberty,' he comments—

'To work of fear and compulsion is bondage, but to love is liberty and the fulfilling of the law before God, and maketh a man merciful to work of his own accord. And to the merciful hath God bound himself to show mercy; and contrary unto the unmerciful, he threatened judgment without mercy. And mercy rejoiceth and triumpheth over judgment. For where mercy is there hath damnation no place by God's promise. God hath promised all mercy to the merciful only.'

One other example and we conclude. It is a note on Revelation vii. 1: 'And after that I saw four angels stand on the four corners of the earth,' and is as follows:—

'Angel is a Greek word, and signifieth a messenger. And all the angels are called messengers because they are sent so oft from God to man on message. Even so prophets, preachers, and the prelates of the Church are called angels; that is to say, because their office is to bring the message of God unto the people. The good angels in this book are the true bishops and preachers, and the evil angels are the heretics and false preachers, which ever falsify God's word, with which the Church of Christ shall be thus miserably plagued unto the end of the world, as is painted in these figures.'

The last clause refers to the curious set of woodcuts

with which the Book of Revelation is illustrated in this edition.

In addition to side notes like these, and short prologues to the separate books, there are lengthy prologues to the Epistles to the Romans and Hebrews and the Epistle of James. Apart from their intrinsic value they are of interest ; that on Romans as showing to what extent Luther influenced Tindale's views ; that on Hebrews as showing how, when his judgment differed from Luther's, he was quite as capable of putting his argument in a clear and forcible style. Any reader who wishes to fairly appreciate Tindale's power, and who would at the same time enter upon a most fascinating and helpful branch of New Testament study, should read and ponder his 1534 Testament. Although copies are very scarce, they are to be found in some of our great libraries, such as the British Museum, and the British and Foreign Bible Society. The text has been printed in an accessible form in Baxter's *Hexapla*.

Tindale's Testament altered by George Joye, 1534. — We have already noted that Joye had incorrectly charged Tindale with being asleep, and had consequently endeavoured himself to remedy Tindale's lack of industry. The result of this mistaken zeal was an edition of the New Testament which has become a literary curiosity, and which led to a trenchant exposure of Joye's impertinence and folly by Tindale. Joye issued in 1534 a little thick 16mo Testament, of which only one copy is known to exist, now in the Grenville Library at the British Museum. The colophon runs, 'Here endeth the New Testament, diligently overseen and corrected and

printed, now again at Antwerp, by me widow of Christopher of Endhoven.' This book is Tindale's 1525 Testament with a series of changes and insertions of such a nature as to arouse Tindale's indignation. In his second address to the reader in the 1534 edition Tindale says, 'It is lawful for who will, to translate and show his mind, though a thousand had translated before him. But it is not lawful (thinketh me) nor yet expedient for the edifying of the unity of the faith of Christ, that whosoever will, shall by his own authority take another man's translation and put out and in and change at pleasure, and call it a correction.' The chief change made by Joye in Tindale's text was due to the peculiar views he held about the resurrection, 'where he findeth this word Resurrection, he changeth it into the life after this life, or very life, and such like, as one that abhorred the very name of the Resurrection.' As one example out of many we quote the rendering of Matthew xxii. 23, 'the Sadducees say there is no life after this.' Joye attempted to defend himself from Tindale's just criticism in 'An apology made by George Joye, to satisfy (if it may be) W. Tindale' (1535), a copy of which is in the University Library at Cambridge. This tract possesses special interest from the light it throws upon Tindale's life at the time; but neither it nor Joye's garbled edition of the Testament had any great influence on the course of Bible translation. The episode is valuable rather for the details given by Joye, which helps to throw light upon Tindale's life. Tindale's second preface to the 1534 Testament, and Joye's *Apology*, have been printed by Mr. Arber in 'The English Scholars' Library.'

Other Editions of Tindale's Testament, 1534-1536.—The revised Testament of 1534 was speedily followed by others, and the rapid sale of these editions is a further proof of the eager desire felt by Englishmen to gain full knowledge of the Word of God. Tindale's day was fast drawing to a close, but he worked with more and more entire devotion at his great task. Although in constant peril of his life, he accomplished results at which we can only marvel. In 1535 appeared what is known as the G. H. Testament. This is a small octavo volume, and the title runs, 'The New Testament yet once again corrected by Willyam Tindale.' As usual in these early Testaments, there follows a Kalendar, 'Willyam Tindale unto the Christian Reader,' 'A Prologue to the iiii. Evangelists,' etc., in all twenty-eight leaves, then comes a second title, dated 1534, with a curious monogram upon it, from which the edition takes its name. The printing was probably begun in 1534, and finished in 1535. Henry Stevens, in his *Bibles in the Caxton Exhibition* (p. 41), hazards the ingenious guess that G. H. stands for Guillaume Hytchins, the assumed name of Tindale, and the other part of the monogram for Jacob van Meteren, the printer. Unfortunately for this theory, the late Henry Bradshaw of Cambridge has proved by incontestible typographical evidence (*Bibliographer*, vol i. pp. 1-11) that the monogram is a well-known trade mark, and indicates that Godfridus Dumæus, the Latin equivalent for Godfried van der Haghen (G. H.), was the *publisher*, and Martin Emperour the printer of this Testament. We have here a good illustration of the danger in the history of the English Bible of guessing,

and jumping to hasty and ingenious conclusions—a practice far too common among those who have written on the subject. The fate of this guess of Henry Stevens does not invite acquiescence in that other (*Bibles*, pp. 37–39) in which, with some show of evidence, but no real basis of fact, he tries to prove that Miles Coverdale ‘set forth’ for Jacob van Meteren, ‘the probable translator,’ the 1535 Bible. This theory involves that Coverdale did not *translate* this famous book, but only read it in proof. Stevens’ guess is now often gravely asserted as fact in articles on the History of the English Bible.

The great significance and value of this G. H. Testament consist in the fact that it represents a further thorough and careful revision of his text by Tindale himself, beyond that contained in the 1534 Testament. Mr. Fry has also proved¹ that the text of this volume practically became the standard for later reprints. In the University Library at Cambridge there is a Tindale Testament of 1535, the place of printing and name of printer unknown. It is chiefly remarkable for its extraordinary spellings, *e.g.* battaeyle (battle), daey (day), faeont (faint), etc. There have been many attempts at an explanation of this, the most probable, perhaps, being that these mis-spellings are the attempts of Flemish compositors to ‘set up’ a foreign language.

In 1536 there were no less than *seven* editions of Tindale’s Testament. One of these is a beautiful *folio* edition, a copy of which is among the treasures of the Bodleian Library. There are three quarto

¹ *Bibliographical Description of the Editions of the New Testament.*

editions, all very much alike, but distinguished from each other by means of an engraving of St. Paul; his foot rests upon a stone, which in one edition is blank, in another contains an engraving of a mole, and in the third an engraver's monogram. Hence the three are known as the Blank-stone, the Mole, and the Engraver's mark editions. The name of printer and place are unknown. All are well-printed handsome books, and contain a large number of woodcuts. There were also three and possibly four editions in 1536 in *octavo*. The John Rylands Library contains a splendid perfect copy of one of these—probably the finest Tindale Testament in existence, that formerly in the Althorp Library.

CHAPTER V.

COVERDALE'S BIBLE, 1535.

BEFORE glancing at the close of Tindale's life we must turn to the great event of the year 1535—the publication of a complete printed English Bible. This appeared exactly ten years after the printing of Tindale's first New Testament by Peter Schoeffer, at Worms. These ten years had been a season of rapid and important social and political changes. In 1529 Wolsey was deposed from the office of chancellor; in 1531 Henry VIII. was declared supreme head of the Church of England, and in 1533 he married Anne Boleyn, and soon after abolished papal authority in England. In 1526 Tindale's Testament was formally condemned by Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Tunstal, Bishop of London. In 1530 the condemnation was reaffirmed, but a 'Bill in English to be published by preachers' was issued, stating that the king and prelates did not think it well for 'the Scripture to be divulged and communicated to the people in the English tongue at this time,' but promising on the part of the king 'that he would cause the New Testament to be by learned men faithfully and purely translated into the English tongue, to the intent he might have it in his hands ready to be given to his people, as he might see their manners and behaviour

meet, apt, and convenient to receive the same.' Hugh Latimer in 1530, by a letter to the king, and Cranmer in 1534, by a petition from Convocation, urged the king to fulfil his promise. But if the execution of the work had depended upon kings and prelates the nation might have been waiting for it until this day.

Place of Printing.—At the very time Cranmer was laying his petition before the king the last sheets of the first complete English Bible were passing through the press. Where and by whom it was printed are still unsolved problems. The commonly received view is that it came from the press of Froschover at Zurich. Up to the present date no book printed in the same type as the 1535 Bible, and giving the name of a printer, has yet been discovered. Mr. E. Gordon Duff has in his possession a book in the same type, but with no colophon, and Dr. Ginsburg has one or two leaves of what he believes to have been a Bible printed in the same type at Zurich. We have seen above that Henry Stevens' guesses are not very reliable. On the whole we are inclined to believe that if ever the question is settled beyond dispute, Froschover, the printer of the 1550 quarto Coverdale, will prove to be the man. However this may be, it is certain that the precious volume began to circulate in England in 1535, and that its production was largely due to the consecration, energy, and ability of one man—Miles Coverdale.

Miles Coverdale.—Of the details of Coverdale's life we know hardly more than in the case of Tindale. He was born in 1488, probably in Yorkshire. He was connected with the monastery of Augustine Friars

at Cambridge, of which Robert Barnes, who was martyred in 1541, was the head; and in 1526, when Barnes was called upon to recant, Coverdale stood by him. About this time Coverdale became intimately associated with Thomas Cromwell, who was first the assistant and friend of Wolsey, and after the execution of Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor, and the chief mover in the suppression of the monastic houses. A series of letters written by Coverdale to this great man are still extant. In one, probably the earliest, written from St. Augustine's Monastery, about the year 1527, he thus describes how the love of Bible study had possessed his soul:—

'Now I begin to taste of holy Scripture; now, honour be to God! I am set to the sweet smell of holy letters, with the godly savour of holy and ancient doctors, unto whose knowledge I cannot attain without diversity of books, as is not unknown to your most excellent wisdom.'

From the time when this letter was written until the publication of the Bible, that is, from about 1528 until 1535, we know nothing of Coverdale's movements. It is certain that he must have spent most, if not all, of these years on the Continent, devoting himself to his great task. Foxe tells us that at Hamburg he acted as assistant to Tindale, and this, though often doubted, cannot be considered impossible. From his own preface it is clear that he knew about Tindale and his work, and his Bible practically includes the whole of Tindale's translations.

Description of Coverdale's Bible.—The volume is a handsome folio, and the copies as they originally came from the binder measured about 13 inches by 8 inches. No copy in the original con-

dition is known. There were originally *four* preliminary leaves, printed in type similar to that used in the body of the book. These contained the title, 'The Books of the Bible,' the prologue, and the contents of Genesis. There was no dedication to the king. But for reasons unknown, which yet may be surmised, these leaves were cancelled. Nicolson, the English printer, reprinted the preliminary leaves in English Black Letter, adding a dedication to Henry VIII. These new preliminary leaves extended in number to *eight*. The volume is divided into six parts—the Pentateuch, 90 leaves; Joshua to Esther, 120 leaves; Job to 'Solomon's Ballettes,' 52 leaves; Isaiah to Malachi, 102 leaves; Apocrypha, 83 leaves; New Testament, 113 leaves. The complete number of leaves in the Bible is 568. Parts ii., iv., v. and vi., have separate titles. In some copies, placed between Parts i. and ii., is a very curious map, and scattered through the book and upon the title-pages 68 separate wood-blocks are used, and by repetition they are made to do duty for 158 distinct illustrations—one block being repeated eleven times. The colophon runs: 'Prynted in the yeare of oure Lorde M.D.XXXV., and fynished the fourth daye of October.'

Origin of Coverdale's Translations.—Controversy has raged over the question whether Coverdale translated from the original texts of Scripture or from other translations. His own statements in his preface, 'Miles Coverdale to the Christian Reader,' are quite clear, and only mistaken zeal, based upon a false estimate of Coverdale's greatness, could have ever raised the question. Coverdale did not possess the sturdy independence and noble heroism

of Tindale. He was not so much the pioneer as the adapter of other men's labours. In the service of God, and of man on His behalf, there is room for both.

Here are Coverdale's own words :—

'Considering how excellent knowledge and learning an interpreter of Scripture ought to have in the tongues, and pondering also mine own insufficiency therein, and how weak I am to perform the office of a translator, I was the more loath to meddle with this work. Notwithstanding, when I considered how great pity it was we should want it so long, *and called to my remembrance the adversity of them which were not only of ripe knowledge, but would also with all their hearts have performed that they began, if they had not had impediment.* . . . I was fain to take it in hand. And to help me therein, I have had sundry translations, not only in Latin, but also of the Dutch (*i.e.* German) interpreters, whom, because of their singular gifts and special diligence in the Bible, I have been the more glad to follow for the most part, according as I was required.'

The passage printed in *italics* can hardly have any other reference than to Tindale himself, who very shortly after it was written was imprisoned and martyred. In the dedication to Henry VIII., with which the Bible of 1535 opens, Coverdale says :—

'I have with a clear conscience purely and faithfully translated this out of five sundry interpreters, having only the manifest truth of the Scripture before mine eyes.'

One of the tasks of modern scholarship has been from the text of Coverdale's Bible to identify these 'five interpreters'; and there is little doubt that they were the Vulgate, a Latin version of the Scriptures by Pagninus, published in 1528, Luther's Bible, as printed in the version published at Zurich between the years 1524–1529, and Tindale. The New Testament, Pentateuch, and the Book of Jonah are Tindale's work chiefly, the rest of the Old Testament a transla-

tion of the Zurich Bible, by the help of the aids above referred to.

Coverdale's Version of the Psalms.—One great part of Coverdale's work has continued to the present day, viz. his version of the Psalms. It is well known to all students of the text of the Psalms that the Prayer Book Version differs widely from both the Authorised Version and Revised Version text, and the difference is due to the fact that in the Liturgy the text stands practically as it was printed in the first complete English Bible. What is known as Cromwell's or the Great Bible, published in 1539, was also edited by Coverdale; and the text of the Psalms in that edition differs in many *minor* details from the text of 1535, and this revised text is nearly identical with that standing in the Prayer Book.

As a familiar example, in proof of this, we quote Psalm xxiii. in both versions. In the Bible of 1535 it runs :—

'The Lord is my Shepherd, I can want nothing. He feedeth me in a green pasture, and leadeth me to a fresh water. He quickeneth my soul, and bringeth me forth in the ways of righteousness for His name's sake. Though I should walk now in the valley of the shadow of death, yet I fear no evil, Thy staff and Thy sheep-hook comfort me. Thou preparest a table before me against mine enemies : Thou anointest mine head with oil, and fillest my cup full. Oh, let Thy loving-kindness and mercy follow me all the days of my life, that I may dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.'

In the Great Bible it runs :—

'The Lord is my Shepherd ; therefore can I lack nothing. He shall feed me in a green pasture, and lead me forth beside the waters of comfort. He shall convert my soul, and bring me forth in the paths of righteousness for His name's sake. Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death I will fear no evil, for Thou art with me ; Thy rod and Thy staff comfort me. Thou shalt prepare a table before me against

them that trouble me : Thou hast anointed my head with oil, and my cup shall be full. But Thy loving-kindness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life, and I will dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.'

If the reader will compare carefully these two versions with the text of the Psalm as it stands in the Authorized Version and Revised Version, the exercise will give a good illustration of the course of Bible text revisions from the days of Henry VIII. to our own. As a remarkable contrast to the simplicity and beauty of the versions already referred to, we quote the Psalm as it stands in the Douay Bible of 1609 and 1610—the only English Bible ever given to the world by the Roman Catholic Church. On the ground of language as well as upon others we may be thankful for our English Reformation.

'Our Lord ruleth me, and nothing shall be wanting to me : in place of pasture there He hath placed me. Upon the water of refection He hath brought me up : He hath converted my soul. He hath conducted me upon the paths of justice for His name. For although I shall walk in the midst of the shadow of death, I will not fear evils : because Thou art with me. Thy rod and Thy staff, they have comforted me. Thou hast prepared in my sight a table against them that trouble me. Thou hast fattened my head with oil : and my chalice inebriating how goodly is it ! And Thy mercy shall follow me all the days of my life : and that I may dwell in the house of our Lord in longitude of days.'

We have space for only one more example of Coverdale's style—the opening verses of Isaiah liii.

'But who giveth credence unto our preaching ? or to whom is the arm of the Lord known ? He shall grow before the Lord like as a branch, and as a root in a dry ground. He shall have neither beauty nor favour. When we look upon Him there shall be no fairness ; we shall have no lust unto Him : He shall be the most simple and despised of all ; which yet hath good experience of sorrows and infirmities. We shall reckon Him so simple and so vile that we shall hide our faces from Him. Howbeit of a truth He only taketh away our infirmity and

beareth our pain : yet we shall judge Him as though He were plagued and cast down of God : whereas He, notwithstanding, shall be wounded for our offences and smitten for our wickedness. For the pain of our punishment shall be laid upon Him, and with His stripes shall we be healed.'

These passages give the reader some idea of Coverdale's version. The book abounds in renderings that sound very quaint and homely to our ears ; such, for example, as Jeremiah viii. 21, 22—'I am heavy and abashed : for there is no more Triacle at Galaad, and there is no Physician that can heal the hurt of my people' ; Psalm xci. 5—'So that thou shalt not need to be afraid for any bugges by night, nor for the arrow that flyeth by day' ; Psalm cxxix. 8—'We wish you good luck in the name of the Lord.'

On the other hand, to Coverdale we owe not a few of the most beautiful Bible phrases, *e.g.* 'the pride of life' ; 'the world passeth away' ; 'Enter not into judgment with Thy servant, O Lord, for in Thy sight shall no man living be justified' ; 'Cast me not away from Thy presence, and take not Thy Holy Spirit from me.'

The old time-worn volume will always have the highest value among English Bibles from the fact of its being the first complete copy ever printed. No absolutely perfect copy is known. Some few, closely approaching perfection, are valued at from £500 to £750 each. To the student it will ever have a very high value, from the fact that in its renderings, the gentle, loving, but faithful nature of Coverdale shines no less clearly forth than does the heroic spirit of Tindale in the translations that came from his mind and heart. The Lord needs and the Lord uses in His Church the varied gifts of men, that by them all

His glorious Gospel may be both enjoyed and set forth for the benefit of others.

Tindale's Martyrdom.—About the middle of 1534, Tindale went to live at the house of the English Merchant Adventurers in Antwerp, which was under the care of Thomas Poyntz, and Tindale doubtless owed a great deal of his safety to the powerful protection of that corporation. In the English house he was safe from arrest, outside of it he was in constant danger. In 1535, Tindale, who was of an unsuspecting nature, was betrayed by a scoundrel named Henry Phillips, who had wormed himself into his confidence. This man went to Brussels, and brought back officers with him, and went to the English house, entered into chat with Tindale, borrowed forty shillings of him, 'the which was easy to be had of him, if he had it; for in the wily subtilties of this world he was simple and unexpert.' Tindale had an engagement to keep, and as he was leaving the house he was followed by Phillips, who pointed him out to the officers lying in wait. He was arrested and carried off to the Castle of Vilvorde, eighteen miles from Antwerp. The arrest took place on May 23 or 24, 1535. Notwithstanding energetic efforts on the part of Poyntz and other friends, he was kept many months in this prison. Early in 1536, his trial by the Council of Brabant began, and on August 10, 1536, he was 'degraded and condemned into the hands of the secular power.' The only letter of Tindale's which has yet been discovered, is one written in Latin at Vilvorde in the winter of 1535, and addressed to the governor of the castle. It asks for warmer clothing, and then 'but above all I entreat

and beseech your clemency to be urgent with the Procureur that he may kindly permit me to have my Hebrew Bible, Hebrew Grammar, and Hebrew Dictionary, that I may spend my time with that study. And in return, may you obtain your dearest wish, provided it be consistent with the salvation of your soul.' Thus, up to the last, Tindale's thoughts and desires were towards his life-work. Two months passed between his sentence and execution. On October 6, 1536, he was strangled, and then his body was burned. 'He cried,' says Foxe, 'at the stake with a fervent, great and a loud voice, "Lord, open the King of England's eyes."' A noble end to the noble life of 'the Apostle of England.' To calculate his influence for good upon the life of the English nation, we have no adequate standard of measurement. Here are one or two examples of this influence.

Bilney, one of the early converts to Protestantism in Henry VIII.'s reign, in 1529 recanted, from fear of Tunstal's threats, and for two years suffered the stings of an accusing conscience. At the end of that time 'he came at length to some quiet of conscience, being fully resolved to give over his life for the confession of that truth which before he had denounced. He took his leave in Trinity Hall of certain of his friends and said he would go up to Jerusalem. . . . And so, setting forth on his journey toward the celestial Jerusalem, he departed from thence to the anchoress in Norwich, and there gave her a New Testament of Tyndale's translation and *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, whereupon he was apprehended and carried to prison, there to remain till the blind bishop Nixe sent up for a writ to burn him.'

Bainham, a London lawyer, had also recanted, but afterwards 'was never quiet in mind or conscience until the time he had uttered his fall to all his acquaintance and asked God and all the world forgiveness. And the next Sunday after he came to St. Austin's with the New Testament in his hand in English and *The Obedience of a Christian Man* in his bosom, and stood up there before all the people in his pew, there declaring openly, with weeping tears, that he had denied God.' 'After this,' adds Foxe, 'he was strengthened above the cruel death by fire with remarkable courage.'

Incidents like these are the measure of Tindale's power and the influence he had exerted over the religious thought and action of many of the noblest men of his day.

[Bagster reprinted the 1535 Coverdale Bible in 1838 in a quarto volume. This can often now be found at the second-hand booksellers, and is a reliable reprint.]

CHAPTER VI.

MATTHEW'S BIBLE OF 1537.

It is a noteworthy fact that all the men to whose efforts the first six editions of either parts or the whole of the English Bible in the sixteenth century were due perished, with one exception, by a violent death. Tindale, as we have already seen, was martyred at Vilvorde in 1536; Cromwell, to whose efforts the Great Bible of 1539 was due, was executed in 1540; Cranmer, by whom the circulation of that Bible was extended in several subsequent editions, was martyred in 1555 under Mary Tudor; and Matthew, or, to call him by his right name, John Rogers, was the first victim of the Marian persecution. For circulating the Bible among the English people, and implanting deeply within the national heart Bible truth, here, as elsewhere, the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church.

Coverdale's Bible of 1535, like Wycliffe's version, being *a translation of a translation*, and not a version direct from the original Hebrew and Greek, could not hold its own against the more perfect work of Tindale. And hence while of the highest value in the eyes of the bibliographer, Coverdale's Bible is relatively of smaller value in the eyes of the student who is looking closely into the history of the text of the English

Bible. Nothing can take from Coverdale the glory of having sent forth the *editio princeps* of the English printed Bible; nothing can rob William Tindale of the honour of having given to the English Bible its literary form. Hence it was that, although Coverdale's Bible was issued in 1535, it was speedily supplanted by the large folio Bible of 1537. As representing the text finally incorporated in both our A.V. and R.V., this, and not Coverdale's, is the true *editio princeps*.

Matthew's Bible.—Uncertainty and obscurity envelope the origin of the 1537 Bible, no less than that of 1535. It is by no means clear where it was printed, although there is hardly room for doubt as to the man by whose energy it was given to the English people. It is a large folio volume, enriched with nearly eighty woodcuts, and the page of print measures twelve by six and a half inches. The first title runs, 'The Byble which is all the Holy Scripture: in whych are containyd the Olde and Newe Testament truly and purely translated into English by Thomas Matthew. Esaye i. Hearken ye heauens and thou earth geaue eare: for the Lord speaketh. M.D.XXXVII.'¹ This is printed in the centre of a fine and elaborate woodcut, which conveys the lesson that the Law condemns and leads to death, while looking to the crucified Saviour redeems and saves; and at the foot of the page is printed, in a very bold type, the words, 'Set forth with the King's most gracyous lycense.' Tindale had offered in 1531 to come to England, give up all further work in Bible translation, and even, if need be, to die, if Henry VIII. would but consent to publish the bare words of Scripture in

¹ See the Frontispiece.

the English tongue. This was refused, and Tindale was martyred in 1536, with the prayer on his lips, 'Lord, open the King of England's eyes.' In 1537 Matthew's Bible was licensed, containing not only the bare words of Scripture, but also introductions, summaries, and marginal notes. How had this come about?

Tindale, towards the close of his life, had held the post of chaplain to the English Company of Adventurers or Merchants at Antwerp, and after his arrest was succeeded in this office by John Rogers. Although the Pentateuch, Book of Jonah, and the New Testament, were the only portions of his translation published in Tindale's lifetime, he appears to have left such of his papers as escaped the search of the officers who arrested him, to Rogers, as his literary executor, and among these in MS. a translation of Joshua to II. Chronicles inclusive. Cranmer and Cromwell were both eager for the circulation of the English Bible, and when Matthew's edition was ready both used their influence with Henry VIII. to get his sanction for it. It is not certain yet by whom it was printed, probably by Martin Emperour or by Jacob van Meteren at Antwerp. A very able, persuasive, and, considering the age in which it was written, not unduly flattering Dedication to the king had been prefixed to this edition of the Bible, and signed 'Youre Grace's faythfull and true subject, Thomas Matthew.' Although the evidence is not absolutely convincing, there seems no reason to doubt the generally received tradition that Thomas Matthew was a name assumed by John Rogers to conceal his identity, and the fact of his close association with

Tindale, whose books and translations had been so recently condemned by the king. A letter from Cranmer to Cromwell is extant, dated August 4, 1537, in which the archbishop says—

‘ You shall receive by the bringer thereof a Bible in English, both of a new translation and of a new print, dedicated unto the King’s Majesty as farther apparent by a pistle unto his grace at the beginning of the book, which in mine opinion is very well done, and therefore I pray your lordship to read the same. And as for the translation, so far as I have read thereof, I like it better than any other translation heretofore made; yet not doubting that there may and will be found some fault therein, as you know no man ever did or can do so well, but it may be from time to time amended. And forasmuch as the book is dedicated unto the King’s Grace, and also great pains and labour taken in the setting forth of the same, I pray you, my lord, that you will exhibit the book unto the King’s Highness, and that you will obtain of his Grace, if you can, a licence that the same may be sold and read of every person, without danger of any Act, or proclamation, or ordinance heretofore granted to the contrary, until such time that we, the bishops, shall set forth a better translation, which I think will not be until a day after doomsday.’

Cromwell probably, and Cranmer possibly, did not know that this ‘New Translation’ was so largely Tindale’s work. Cromwell laid the book before the king, obtained the royal licence, and it at once began to circulate. This book having been printed abroad, could only find an entrance into England by being sold complete in sheets to some English printer, and hence the expenses of the edition of 1,500 copies were borne by Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch.

Description of Matthew’s Bible.—The text is a composite work, made up of the translations of Tindale and Coverdale. The only part which Rogers seems to have added was the Prayer of Manasses in

the Apocrypha. This was not given in Coverdale's Bible, and Rogers himself translated it from the French Bible of Olivetan (1535). A noteworthy feature of the book is the elaborate preliminary matter, and the kind of running commentary, explanatory and expository, furnished by numerous side-notes. The title-page is followed by a 'Kalendar' occupying two leaves; then a page devoted to 'An Exhortation to the Study of the Holy Scripture gathered out of the Bible,' a collection of the chief texts enforcing the duty of Scripture study. At the foot of this page are printed the large capitals I.R., probably standing for John Rogers. The presence of large initials is one curious feature of the book. H.R. stand at the end of the Dedication; on the verso of the title to Part ii. are R.G. and E.W., the initials of the English printers who published the books; and at the close of Malachi are W.T., the initials of Tindale. After the exhortation follows 'The Sum and Content of all the Holy Scripture,' filling two pages, followed by the Dedication, three pages, and 'A Table of the Principal Matters contained in the Bible'—a kind of concordance, which fills thirteen leaves, and is taken from Olivetan's French Bible. The last of the twenty preliminary leaves has on the obverse 'The Names of all the Books of the Bible,' and on the reverse a very large engraving of Adam and Eve in Paradise. To each chapter of the text is prefixed a brief summary of its contents; *e.g.* 1 Samuel xv. :—

'Saul is commanded to slay Amalek. He is disobedient to the voice of God, and saveth the spoil to offer it to the Lord; for which the Lord rejecteth him and casteth him away. Samuel mourneth for Saul.'

The book is divided into four sections ; Genesis to 'Solomon's Ballet,' 247 leaves ; Part ii., Isaiah to Malachi, with separate title, 95 leaves ; Apocrypha, separate title, 82 leaves ; New Testament, separate title, 111 leaves ; 556 leaves in all. The colophon runs, 'To the honoure and prayse of God was this Byble prynted and fynysshed in the yere of oure Lorde God a, M.D.XXXVII.'

In addition to the handsome title engraving, the Adam and Eve referred to above, and two fine large engravings, one at the head of the Psalms, and the other at the head of Proverbs, there are a large number of small woodcuts inserted in the text of the Old Testament, many of them identical with those used in the 1535 Bible. The title-pages to Parts ii. and iii. have sixteen and fifteen respectively of these small blocks arranged as an ornamental border. Scattered through the New Testament are blocks representing the various apostles, and there are twenty-one illustrations in the Apocalypse. Altogether there are ninety-three distinct wood-blocks.

Specimens of the Translation and Marginal Notes.—We select the following ; 1 Samuel xv. **G–E**. In all English Bibles prior to the Geneva, published in 1560, the text is not broken up into verses. It was uniformly printed in paragraphs, as in the R.V., and for convenience of reference, the letters **A**, **B**, **C**, etc., were used for the successive portions of each chapter, and were printed in the margin. It is a great misfortune that the verse divisions were ever introduced. Nothing has done more mischief in the way of conducting to the misreading of the Bible. The section chosen corresponds to verses 10–15, 22, 23.

‘Then came the word of the Lord unto Samuel, saying, It repenteth me that I have made Saul king. For he is turned from me, and hath not performed my commandments. Wherefore Samuel was evil afraid, and cried unto the Lord all night. And it was told Samuel that Saul was come to Carmel, and had set him up a pillar of triumph, and was turned, and departed, and gone to Gilgal. . . . And when Samuel was come to Saul, Saul said-unto him : Blessed be thou in the Lord, I have done the commandment of the Lord. And Samuel answered : What meaneth then the bleating of the sheep in mine ears, and the noise of the oxen which I hear? And Saul said : They have brought them from the Amalekites, for the people spared the best of the shepe and of the oxen to sacrifice unto the Lord thy God, and the remnant we have destroyed. . . . Then sayde Samuel ; hath the Lorde as great pleasure in burnt sacrifices and offerings as he hath that thou shouldst obey his voice? Behold to obey is better than offering, and to give heed is better than the fat of rams. For rebelliousness is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness is wickedness and idolatry. Because therefore thou hast cast away the word of the Lorde, therefore hath the Lord cast away thee also from being king.’

The marginal note on the first verse bravely attacks the difficulty in this passage as follows : ‘The repentance of God is only the changing of the deed. And as the affection of mercy and of fatherly love is attributed to God, even so doth the Scripture attribute to God, after his (its) manner of speech, the affection of anger, and of fury, and of repentance also ; for men cannot otherwise speak of God. Genesis vi. A.’ Upon the latter part the marginal note runs : ‘To obey what? Man’s inventions, man’s dreams and traditions? Nay, verily, but God’s holy words, His blessed commandments ; yea, and to obey them is better than to offer sacrifice which yet was ordained and appointed of God Himself. How much better then is it than our offerings, which are invented without any God’s Word, or any mention thereof made the whole Scripture through?’

'To be cast away from the Lord is to be blinded, and to despair of the goodness of God.'

Upon the closing section of 2 Kings ii., the story of the children who mocked Elisha, the note is :—

'The contempt of godly men, chiefly preachers, is an offence most grievous, whose authority ought to be most holy and reverent to all the people, whom he that receiveth or againsaieth receiveth or rejecteth God. Fathers while they correct not the wantonness of their children, while they hold them not under nurture, while they suffer them to jest and scoff with every man, and let them attempt everything unpunished, the Lord punisheth them with the children in many ways.'

As an example of the large section of this Bible, taken from Coverdale's translation, and of the marginal commentary added by Rogers, we quote the first Psalm :—

'Blessed is the man that goeth not in the counsel of the ungodly ; that abideth not in the way of sinners, and sitteth not in the seat of the scornful. But delighteth in the law of the Lord, and exerciseth himself in his law both day and night. Such a man is like a tree planted by the waterside, that bringeth forth his fruit in due season. His leaves shall not fall off, and look, whatsoever he doeth shall prosper. As for the ungodly it is not so with them ; but they are like the dust which the wind scattereth away from off the ground. Therefore the ungodly shall not be able to stand in the judgment, neither the sinners in the congregation of the righteous. For the Lord alloweth the way of the righteous, but the way of the ungodly shall perish.'

The marginal notes affixed to this Psalm are as follows :—

a. 'The way of sinners is their manners and ordinances, in which they walk, as it were, in a way. Way in the Scripture is taken for whatsoever we do or go about, be it good or evil, as in the last verse of this Psalm.'

b. 'To sit in the seat of the scornful is to conspire with them, and to become fellows of their mischief, as in the Psalm xxv. B.'

c. 'To stand in judgment is to win the process and to have sentence pronounced on their sides ; as to rob judgment is to let

the process, and to have sentence pronounced against right and truth. Isaiah x. *A*. So then this text meaneth no more but that the wicked shall have such a terrible sentence given upon them, that they shall not be able to abide when the Lord shall come to the general judgment ; it meaneth not that the wicked shall not appear in the judgment.'

From 2 Chronicles to the end of the Apocrypha, the text of Matthew's Bible is taken from the Coverdale 1535 Bible. The only addition which Rogers seems to have made is that already noted, 'the Prayer of Manasses,' from the Olivetan French Bible of 1535. The New Testament is, of course, Tindale's, and approximates closely to the text of the 1535-34 G. H. Testament. It is both appropriate and instructive, that this great primary version of the English Bible should contain the best work of the two chief translators—the Testament and the Pentateuch of Tindale, and the Psalter of Coverdale.

Other editions of 1537.—In the year which saw the issue of Matthew's Bible, two other editions of the English Bible appeared, both reprints of Coverdale's Bible, and both printed by Nicolson, at St. Thomas's Hospital, in Southwark. One of these is a large handsome folio, printed throughout in bold English Black Letter. It is, if anything, rarer than the 1535 Bible, and is generally believed to be the first complete Bible printed in England. It is divided into six sections, Genesis to Ruth, 1 Samuel to Esther, Job to Solomon's Ballettes, Isaiah to Malachi, Apocrypha and New Testament. All except part iii have separate titles. There are many wood-blocks, all but one, a cut of Jonah, being identical with those in the 1535 Bible. Three in the 1535—Gideon's men, Ark in Dagon's House, and David and Bath-

sheba—are not found in the 1537. Although described on the first title as ‘newly overseen and corrected,’ the text is identical with the 1535.



FIRST TITLE-PAGE OF THE SECOND EDITION OF
COVERDALE'S BIBLE.

The quarto edition is a handsome well printed book, of which the only known perfect copy is in the John Rylands Library.

Coverdale's Latin-English Testaments.—

Coverdale differed in many important respects from Tindale. The martyr was cast in the heroic mould. The iron of Romish wrong and superstition had entered deeply into his soul, and he would have no compromise with it. He yearned to set his brethren free, and to enable them to enjoy the freedom he had himself found. Hence, he rejected as far as possible the Vulgate, he dropped all technical words, he poured the bitterest scorn upon all unscriptural Romish ceremonies. He was the bold and progressive reformer. Coverdale, on the other hand, though none the less eager to circulate the Scriptures, so that all might read them, looked much more tenderly on the old text, and preferred to alter only where alteration was inevitable. To meet the case of those who knew only Latin, Coverdale in 1538 prepared an edition of the New Testament in quarto, giving in parallel columns the Latin New Testament, with a literal English version. Having to leave England, this was intrusted to Nicolson to see through the press, and in 1538 it was published. Coverdale, then in Paris, received in due time a copy, and upon inspecting it was greatly chagrined to find it full of what he considered very serious printer's errors. He went so far as to get Francis Regnault, the famous Paris printer, to print him a beautiful little Latin-English Testament, to replace that which Nicolson had so bungled. Then in his turn Nicolson appears to have issued a second edition of *his* Latin-English Testament. From the fact that some copies of this edition have upon the title-page 'translated by Johan Hollybushe,' this edition is sometimes described as

the Hollybush Testament. In this way it came to pass that 1538 saw no less than three issues of this diglot Testament. In the same year also, two quarto editions of Tindale's Testament appeared, one printed in London, by Robert Redman, and of this the



MILES COVERDALE.

Bodleian has a perfect copy ; of the other, printer unknown, the Library of Canterbury Cathedral possesses a copy.

In 1538 Matthew Crom, an Antwerp printer, issued an edition of Coverdale's New Testament in octavo. Although the text is Coverdale's, these volumes con-

tain Tindale's prologues. It is, moreover, the most handsomely illustrated of all these early Testaments, having about 200 woodcuts. All of those found in the Apocalypse being full pages and identical with those in the 1536 quarto Tindale Testaments. Many of the chapters have notes at the end, and these do not appear to be the same as in the Matthew's 1537 folio. There are copies in the Libraries of the British Museum and of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Taverner's Bible.—This rare volume is a revision of Matthew's folio by Richard Taverner, who, like Frith, had been selected by Wolsey as a fellow of Cardinal College, Oxford, now Christ Church. He was arrested on the charge of reading Tindale's Testament, but being released studied law, was admitted to the Inner Temple, and coming into contact with Cromwell while the latter was Chancellor of Cambridge, in 1537 became Clerk of the Signet to Henry VIII. He published his edition of the Bible in folio in 1539. The title runs, 'The Most Sacred Bible which is the Holy Scripture, containing the Old and New Testament, translated into English, and newly recognised with great diligence after most faithful exemplars by Richard Taverner.' Taverner was a good Greek scholar, and many of his corrections are illustrations of this. His Bible does not appear to have had any great influence upon the revision of the text. His edition has no woodcuts, and not a large number of notes. It is said to have been issued also in quarto, in parts, in 1539, so that those who could not afford the whole might be able to buy a portion. In 1540 it appeared in several volumes in 12mo, and the

Old Testament was reprinted in a folio Bible printed by John Day, in 1551. Though imprisoned a second time after Cromwell's death, he was again released, and lived until 1577. He was licensed to preach in the reign of Edward VI., and Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, quotes him as saying in a sermon at St. Mary's: 'Arrived at the Mount of St. Mary's, on the stony stage where I now stand, I have brought you some fine biscuits, baked in the oven of charity, carefully conserved for the chickens of the church, the sparrows of the spirit, and the sweet swallows of salvation.'

CHAPTER VII.

THE GREAT BIBLE OF 1539.

CROMWELL, as we have seen, was successful in obtaining the licence of Henry VIII. for the circulation of the 1537 Bible. It is surprising that he was able to do so, when we bear in mind the fact that, although Rogers had toned down many of Tindale's references to the Romish Church, some still remained, and the noted Prologue to the Romans, a treatise that had been openly condemned and prohibited, was printed by Rogers in full. But even if he were ignorant of these facts when he laid the book before the king, Cromwell soon became acquainted with them and their probable influence. This affords at any rate a reasonable explanation of the way in which he pushed forward the Bible of 1539. Possibly because the 1,500 copies of Matthew's Bible were quickly sold, but more probably from fear that the facts of the case should come to the king's ears, or that they might lead to serious trouble, Cromwell determined to have an edition of the Bible free from these objections. To this end he appears to have enlisted Coverdale's services, practically as editor, for a series of letters are extant relating to the matter, written by Coverdale to his patron, Thomas Cromwell.

Permission to print this Bible was obtained from

the French king, and the work was nearly completed at the Royal Press, in Paris, which was then famous for the style of its work; and yet, notwithstanding Cromwell's influence—he then being at his zenith—the enemies of the English Bible were able to get a decree empowering them to suppress and seize the



THOMAS CROMWELL.

work. Prior to this, and largely by the aid of Bishop Bonner, then ambassador at Paris, after the printing had been stopped, a large portion of the printed sheets had been sent to London. A quantity of the printed sheets that had been seized and sold by the officer of the Inquisition were afterwards repurchased; and finally, Cromwell, determined not to be

beaten, empowered Coverdale and Grafton, the London printer who had gone over specially to assist Coverdale, and who had a large financial risk in the enterprise, to bring over to London suitable presses, types, and workmen. This happened at the close of 1538, and by April, 1539, the needful printing in London was finished, and the book was complete. Henry VIII. issued a declaration 'to be read by all curates upon the publishing of the Bible in English,' enforcing the duty and right method of reading and studying the volume. Cromwell, as vicar-general, enjoined upon every incumbent 'that one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English, should be set up in some convenient place within the church,' the cost to be shared by parson and parishioners, and urged them to 'expressly provoke, stir, and exhort every person to read the same.'

While some of the descriptions of the eagerness with which the English Bible was welcomed and perused by the people generally may be too highly coloured, there is no doubt that it was eagerly welcomed by many, and that the reading, marking, learning, and inwardly digesting the Word of God—revealed for the first time to the rank and file of English men and women by Tindale's Testaments and Pentateuch, and by the Bibles of 1535, 1537, and 1539—developed the true force that brought about the English Reformation. A document published in 1539 states :

'Englishmen have now in hand in every church and place, and almost every man, the Holy Bible and New Testament in their mother tongue, instead of the old fabulous and fantastical books of the *Table Round*, *Lancelot du Lac*, etc., and such

other, whose impure filth and vain fabulosity the light of God has abolished utterly.'

Strype, in his *Life of Cranmer*, says :

'It was wonderful to see with what joy this Book of God was received, not only among the learned sort and those that were noted lovers of the Reformation, but generally all England over among all the vulgar and common people ; and with what greediness God's Word was read, and what resort to places where the reading of it was. Everybody that could bought the book or busily read it, or got others to read it to them, if they could not themselves, and divers more elderly people learned to read on purpose. And even little boys flocked among the rest to hear portions of the Holy Scripture read.'

This large folio, known as the Great Bible, is not inaptly styled 'the whole Bible of the largest volume in English,' inasmuch as the page of type measures $13\frac{1}{4}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. In it also appears for the first time the celebrated engraved title-page which is attributed to Holbein, and which enshrines a long chapter of contemporary history and thought. It occupies the whole page, with the exception of a small space in the centre for the printed title. At the top, the Saviour is represented in the clouds of heaven, and two labels contain His words in the Latin of the Vulgate—that on the left, 'So shall My word be that goeth forth out of My mouth ; it shall not return unto Me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please' ; that on the right, 'I have found a man after Mine own heart, which shall fulfil all My will.' This latter is directed towards the king, who has laid aside his crown, and is kneeling, repeating Psalm cxix. 105 : 'Thy word is a lamp to my feet.' This occupies about two inches of the top portion of the engraving, extending over its whole breadth. In the centre, directly beneath the figure of the Saviour, is another representation of



FIRST TITLE-PAGE, GREAT BIBLE, 1539.

(Size of original woodblock, $13\frac{3}{4}$ by $9\frac{7}{8}$ inches.)

Henry VIII. He is seated on his throne, with the royal arms and motto beneath his feet. With his right hand he is giving the Word of God to Cranmer, behind whom stand the bishops, with the words of 1 Tim. iv. 11: 'These things command and teach'; and with his left hand he is presenting a similar volume to Cromwell, behind whom stand the nobles, with the words of Deut. i. 16, 17: 'Judge righteously . . . ye shall hear the small as well as the great.' Lower still, on the right hand of the central printed title, Cromwell is pictured again, his coat-of-arms at his feet, giving the book to laymen, with the words of Psalm xxxiv. 14: 'Depart from evil, and do good: seek peace, and pursue it.' On the left side stands Cranmer, with the mitre on his brow, and his coat-of-arms at his feet, giving the book to the clergy and saying, 'Feed the flock of God which is among you.' The whole of the lower third of the engraving is filled with figures representative of the life of the time. A preacher is expounding 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2. Around him is seated a company of men and women, exactly like the assemblies at St. Paul's Cross depicted in early engravings, crying out, *Vivat Rex!* and 'God save the king!' In the right hand lower corner, men and women, children, and even prisoners, are represented as uttering the same cries. The whole picture, in short, whether the work of Holbein or not, is a true reflex of the feelings and opinions of the time, and not only indicates the general thanksgiving for the boon of the pure Word of God, but also immortalises the two men to whom the English nation is much more deeply indebted than it has always realised—Thomas Cromwell and Archbishop Cranmer.

The centre of this elaborate wood engraving contains the following letter-press: 'The Bible in English that is to say the content of all the Holy Scripture both of the Old and New Testament truly translated after the verity of the Hebrew and Greek texts by the diligent study of divers excellent learned men expert in the foresaid tongues.' The colophon runs, 'The end of the New Testament and of the whole Bible, finished in April, Anno. M.CCCC.XXXIX., a *Domino factum est istud*.' Including the title there are six preliminary leaves, and the text is in five sections, Genesis to Deuteronomy, 84 leaves; Joshua to Job, separate title, 122 leaves; Psalms to Malachi, separate title, 133 leaves; Hagiographa, separate title in same border as first, 79 leaves; New Testament, separate title, 103 leaves.

The Great Bible of 1539 was followed by no less than *six* editions of practically the same book, issued in the brief space of time comprised between April, 1540, and December, 1541. These were printed in this rapid succession in order to meet the demand for the copies that had to be placed in the churches, and also to satisfy the general desire for them, so clearly indicated by the extracts given above. It has been calculated that no less than 20,000 of these great folios were thus issued. These six editions are commonly described as Cranmer's Bible, not because he had any active share in the translation, but because he wrote an admirable introduction which is prefixed to them all, entitled, 'A Prologue or Preface made by the most reverend father in God, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, Metropolitan and Primate of England.' This is a most characteristic

production, exhibiting many of Cranmer's strong points, illustrating the spirit of the time, and worth the careful study of every student of the English Bible.

We have space for only the opening sentences :—

‘For two sundry sorts of people, it seemeth much necessary that something in the entry of this book, by the way of a preface or prologue, whereby hereafter it may be both the better accepted of them, which hitherto could not well bear it; and also the better used of them which heretofore have misused it. For truly some there are that be too slow and need of the spur; some others seem too quick and need more of the bridle. Some lose their game by short shooting, some by over shooting. Some walk too much on the left hand, some too much on the right. In the former sort be all they who refuse to read, or to hear read, the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, much worse they that also let (hinder) or discourage the others from the reading or hearing thereof. In the latter sort be they which by their inordinate reading, indiscreet speaking, contentions, disputing, or otherwise, by their licentious living, slander or hinder the Word of God most of all other, whereof they would seem to be greatest furtherers. These two sorts, albeit they be most far unlike each other, yet they both deserve in effect like reproach. Neither can I well tell whether of them I may judge the more offender, him that doth obstinately refuse so godly and goodly knowledge; or him that so ungodly and so ungoodly doth abuse the same. And as touching the former I would marvel much that any man should be so mad as to refuse in darkness light, in hunger food, in cold fire, for the Word of God is light, “Thy Word is a lamp to my feet”; food, “Man doth not live by bread alone, but by every word of God”; fire, “I came to send fire on the earth, and what will I if it be already kindled?” I would marvel, I say, at this save that I consider how much custom and usage may do. So that if there were a people, as some write, which never saw the sun by reason that they be situated far toward the North Pole, and be inclosed and overshadowed with high mountains, it is credible and like enough that if by the power and will of God, the mountains should sink down, and give place, that the light of the sun might have entrance to them, some of them would be offended therewith.’

In the 1539 Bible the engraved title page already described stands as the first title, and also before the Apocrypha; in the six Cranmer Bibles it stands as

both Old Testament and New Testament title. Cromwell was executed in July, 1540, and in the editions issued subsequent to that date the circle occupied by his coat-of-arms is left a blank.

The English printers, Grafton and Whitchurch, undertook the issue of the 1539 and six subsequent editions of this Bible, assisted by a wealthy citizen named Anthony Marler. The fixed price was twelve shillings bound, and ten shillings unbound. These sums represent in the money of to-day about £9 and £7 10s. respectively. Church records show that copies were sometimes sold at a lower figure—*e.g.*, at Ashburton there is the following entry: ‘A.D. 1540-1. Paid vs. iiiid. for a new booke called a Bybyll. Paid viiid. for a chaine for fastenyng the saide booke.’ Assuming this to be a bound copy, it cost less than half what the printers were authorized to charge.

Many interesting questions arise in connection with the text of these seven editions. There is now no room for doubt that Coverdale took the text of Matthew’s Bible as the basis, and that his chief guide in the revision, the one to whom he owed most, was a new Latin version of the Old Testament, with the Hebrew text, and a commentary taken mainly from Hebrew sources by Sebastian Münster, published in 1534-35. To this source may be traced nearly all the alterations introduced into Genesis to 2 Chronicles. That part of the Old Testament which was more especially Coverdale’s work, *viz.*, Ezra to Malachi, exhibits much the larger number of alterations. The revision of the New Testament was the result chiefly of a more careful study of the Vulgate

and of the Latin version of Erasmus. To the influence of the Vulgate were due such insertions as '*that ye may rejoice, and that your joy may be full,*' in 1 John i. 4; and '*He that knowledgeth the Son hath the Father also,*' ii. 23; but these, like the interpolation 1 John v. 7, are printed in smaller type, to mark their Latin origin. To the same source may be traced that very unfortunate rendering in John x. 16, '*one fold*' instead of '*one flock.*' A further revision of the text also took place between the publication of the 1539 Bible and the editions of April and November, 1540. For example, in the former, James i. 13 reads, '*For God cannot tempt unto evil, because He tempteth no man*'; in the 1540 Bibles it stands, '*For as God cannot be tempted with evil, so neither He Himself tempteth any man,*' a change due to the version of Erasmus.

The Book of Psalms, as it stands in the Great Bible, is of very special interest, since it is the translation which passed into the Prayer Book in Edward VI.'s time, and amid all subsequent changes and revisions has there maintained its ground. When the Prayer Book was last revised, so far back as 1662, the direction was given that the other lessons were to be taken from the Authorized Version, but the Psalms were not to be altered. The phraseology of Coverdale's version had become too familiar by long use to allow of alteration, and choirs found it, or thought they did, smoother and easier to sing. As elsewhere, in the Psalms insertions from the Vulgate are marked by being printed in smaller type in the 1539 Bible. Unfortunately this is not done in the Prayer Book, and few who use the latter are aware that it contains many

whole sentences and phrases that form no part of the true text of the Psalms. Compare, for instance, Psalm xiv. in the Prayer Book and Authorized Version, and in the former three whole verses, and parts of two others, will be found which do not stand in the latter.

This series of seven large folio editions of the Bible came into existence at one of the most critical periods of English history ; in their production and circulation were associated a group of very notable and very able men ; and now the ambition of great collectors—a very difficult and costly one—is to secure fine and perfect copies of each, such as may be seen either at the British Museum, or at the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

From both the bibliographical and the textual points of view, the Great Bible and the six subsequent editions present difficult problems. No subsequent edition is an exact reprint of the 1539, and all alike exhibit indications of careful editorial revision. That published in April, 1540, was further revised by Coverdale ; those of November, 1540, and of May, 1541, are nearer the 1539 text. Upon the title-page of the editions of November, 1540 and 1541, appear the words, ‘overseen and perused at the commandment of the King’s Highness by the right reverend fathers in God, Cuthbert, Bishop of Durham, and Nicolas, Bishop of Rochester.’ There is no doubt, further, that each of these seven editions was set up in type independently ; and yet they are so much alike that it is very common indeed to find copies of one edition containing leaves which belong to another. But those who wish to pursue this subject must consult the late Francis Fry’s elaborate book, *A Description of the Great Bible*, folio, 1865.

Accession of Edward VI.—The close of the reign of Henry VIII. was stormy and reactionary, and after the last edition of the Great Bible in December, 1541, no further editions were printed until Henry's death. Controversy was raging throughout the country. The Word of God in English was accessible to almost everyone, and bitter Romanist antagonism had been stirred up by the reading of the Bible, and the suppression of the monasteries. Henry himself grew more and more arbitrary and tyrannical, while the Act of Supremacy on the one hand, and the Statute of the Six Articles on the other, brought both Roman Catholics and Protestants under the charge of treason and the penalty of death. With the accession of Edward VI. a better state of things began, and at once gave new influence and force to Cranmer and the Protestant party. The change immediately reacted upon Bible circulation. According to Dr. Eadie (*The English Bible*, vol. i. p. 423), 'In the reign of Edward numerous editions of former versions were published, amounting to thirty-five editions of the New Testament, and thirteen of the whole Bible.' None of these exerted any special influence upon the English text, but they all helped to familiarize the mind of the common people with the words and promises and spirit of Scripture, and thus laid the foundation of the true English Reformation. Neither Henry's politic break with Rome, nor the fact that nobles, and prelates, and statesmen, tried to play with the spirit of reform, and to direct it for their own selfish and often base ends, enabled the nation to resist the reaction under Mary. The force which resisted all her passion, and craft, and power, mercilessly em-

ployed to thrust the nation's neck once more beneath the cruel yoke of Rome, was the knowledge of Scripture, and the belief in its saving power, which had sunk so deeply into the hearts of multitudes of her subjects. The reign of Edward had been a seed-time, the harvest was the noble army of martyrs, rich and poor, high and lowly, educated and illiterate, who chose to die rather than bow the knee again to the Pope of Rome.

Editions of Bible, 1547-1553.—It would be beside the purpose of this little book to do more than mention a few of these editions. In 1549, there were issued three *folio* Bibles ; an exact reprint of Matthew's 1537, by Raynalde and Hyll, a book which has the distinction of being the worst printed of all the early English Bibles ; an edition of Matthew's, revised by Edmund Becke, and printed by Day & Seres ; and an edition of Cranmer's Bible, printed by Edmund Whitchurch. In 1550, there appeared a quarto volume—a new edition of Coverdale's (1535) Bible, which had been printed by Froschover, at Zurich, and which was re-issued in London with preliminary leaves, printed in England, first by Andrew Hester, and then in 1553, by Richard Jugge.

Editions of New Testament, 1547-1553.—Of the New Testaments issued between 1547 and 1553 we can mention only a few. Mr. Fry in his most valuable book, *The Editions of the New Testament, Tyndale's Version, 1525 to 1566*, describes no less than fifteen editions, printed in England. Of these, the most noteworthy are William Powell's quarto (1548), containing also the Latin version of Erasmus ; one in octavo, printed by Thomas Gaultier, also with

the Latin of Erasmus (1550); and the three handsome quarto editions, with many woodcuts, printed by Richard Jugge in 1552 and 1553. Upon the reverse of the title of the first of these editions is printed a royal warrant authorizing the edition, and stating, 'Upon due examination of his (Richard Jugge's) charges and expenses we have estimated that the price of twenty-and-twopence for every book in papers (sheets) and unbound is a reasonable and convenient price for the same according. At Greenwich the X. of June, M. D. LII.' Reckoning money as fifteen times more valuable then than now, Jugge sold his Testaments unbound for twenty-seven shillings and sixpence.

The Marian Persecution.—The reign of Mary Tudor was a season of reaction, and in her determined but fruitless effort to restore the Papacy in England, unrelenting war was waged against the English Bible. But the nation which had become permeated with the spirit of Tindale, and which had read and re-read and deeply studied the New Testament, nobly vindicated his expectation. He had been moved to translate the New Testament 'because,' to use his own words, 'I had perceived by experience how that it was impossible to establish the lay people in any truth except the Scripture were plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue.' This he had done, and in doing it he had raised up a barrier against which all the might and all the fanaticism of Mary Tudor and Reginald Pole were powerless.

Rogers' Martyrdom.—Fascinating from this point of view as the details of Mary's reign are, we linger only upon one incident. As noted above,

there is no reason to doubt what has been the steady tradition since 1536, that John Rogers as Tindale's literary executor saw through the press the splendid Bible of 1537. Eighteen years later, he was to pay dearly for his courage, and for the steadfastness with which he clung to the simple truth of Scripture. In 1548 he returned to England, after years of exile. On May 10, 1550, he became Vicar of St. Sepulchre's Church, the handsome building standing at the Newgate Street end of Holborn Viaduct, and known to the last and to this generation as the church which tolled for the executions in Newgate. On August 24, 1551, he became a prebendary of St. Paul's along with Grindal, afterward Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bradford, who, like himself, was a victim in the Marian persecution. He also held for a brief season a lectureship in divinity at St. Paul's. Life brings about strange changes, and among his fellow prebendaries was a certain Gabriel Dunne or Donne, infamous in history as having been concerned in the plot which led to Tindale's betrayal. Rogers, as one of the foremost popular champions of Reformed doctrine, was among the very first to feel the force of the Romanist reaction. Ordered in August, 1553, to keep to his house, he was next sent to Newgate under a gaoler, whom Foxe describes, his name being Alexander Andrew, as 'a right Alexander, a copper-smith indeed.' His trial is fully detailed in Foxe, and should be read by everyone desiring to gain a correct idea of what the reformers taught, and what the Romish bishops of the sixteenth century condemned. From the chancellor, Stephen Gardiner, no mercy could be expected. He was finally condemned, to-

gether with Bishop Hooper, in the Lady Chapel of St. Saviour's, Southwark, an ancient part of that building, very much the same in appearance now as when Rogers defended himself there; and on February 4, 1555, in the presence of an immense concourse of onlookers, he was burnt in Smithfield—the first of the Marian martyrs.

II

Set 10 steps in making
of English Bible

CHAPTER VIII.

THE GENEVA BIBLE. - 1560

THE accession to the throne of the daughter of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn marked a step forward in the history of the English Bible. Greatly as Elizabeth disliked the growing Puritan party in the Church of England, and heavily as she laid her hand upon all who dared to think for themselves in religious matters, the era had passed when for either reading or translating the Bible any Englishman could be condemned to death. But in her reign, as in that of her father, the impulse in the direction of Bible revision came from without rather than within. It was due, not so much to the dignitaries and scholars of the Church, as to the men who had been driven into exile by their evangelical belief and godly life.

The Exiles at Geneva.—Geneva, under the influence of John Calvin, had become the great centre of the Reformation life and influence upon the Continent. Upon the death of Edward VI. many influential English reformers had fled, some to Strasburg, some to Zurich, and some to Frankfort and other German towns. But in 1555 a little company of influential men, displeased with the result of discussions upon matters of ritual which took place at Frankfort, removed to Geneva, and became closely associated

there with Calvin. Chief among these were John Knox, Miles Coverdale, Thomas Cole, Christopher Goodwin, formerly Professor of Divinity at Oxford, and later an extreme Nonconformist leader; John Pullain, Anthony Gilbey, Thomas Sampson, and William Whittingham. Of the last three, Gilbey was a Cambridge man, the other two were from Oxford. It is to the labours of these three men, in the main, that the translation known as the Geneva Bible, which was for over seventy-five years the version in daily use among the English people, was due. Gilbey returned to England, became Vicar of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, and died in 1584. Sampson had been Dean of Chichester in the reign of Edward VI.; in 1561 he became Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, but in 1564 was deprived of his office for holding Nonconformist views. William Whittingham was born near Durham in 1524, he was educated at Brasenose College, Oxford, and in 1545 was a Fellow of All Souls'. He left England in June, 1554, and at Geneva, in 1555, he married the sister of John Calvin. In 1559 he succeeded John Knox as pastor of the English Church at Geneva; in 1560 returned to England, and in 1563 was made Dean of Durham. He contributed a number of the metrical or singing psalms to what was known as Sternhold and Hopkins' collection, and died in 1579.

The Geneva Testament of 1557.—In the year 1557 Conrad Badins, a well-known Geneva printer, issued a small thick octavo volume, with the title, 'The New Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ, conferred diligently with the Greek and best approved translations. With the arguments as well before the chapters as for every book and epistle, also diversities

of readings, and most profitable annotations of all hard places : whereunto is added a copious Table.' The centre of the title-page is adorned with an odd little woodcut, in which Time is depicted as bringing Truth (a female figure very much unadorned) out of the tomb, with the motto, 'God by Time restoreth Truth and maketh her victorious.' The book is printed in Roman letter, and is the first example of a portion of Scripture printed in English broken up into verses. Prefixed to the text are : (1) 'The Epistle declaring that Christ is the End of the Law,' by John Calvin ; (2) 'To the Reader mercy and peace through Christ our Saviour.'

This latter gives the main reasons why the book was printed, and the principles upon which it was based. It points out that—

'In the Church of Christ there are three kinds of men : some are malicious despisers of the Word and graces of God, who turn all things into poison, and a farther hardening of their hearts : others do not openly resist and condemn the Gospel, because they are struck as it were in a trance with the majesty thereof, yet either they quarrel and cavil, or else deride and mock at whatsoever thing is done for the advancement of the same. The third sort are the simple lambs which partly are already in the fold of Christ, and so willingly hear their Shepherd's voice, and partly wandering astray by ignorance tarry the time till the Shepherd find them and bring them unto His flock. To this kind of people in this translation I chiefly had respect, as moved unto zeal, counselled by the godly, and drawn by occasion, both of the place where God hath appointed us to dwell, and also of the store of heavenly learning and judgment which so aboundeth in this city of Geneva, that justly it may be called the patron and mirrour of true religion and godliness.'

This edition of the New Testament, which appears to have been done by Whittingham unaided, has been reprinted by Bagster, and later the text was included in Bagster's Hexapla, in which book it would

have been much more useful to have reproduced the New Testament from the Geneva Bible of 1560. Whittingham, after emphasizing the fact that he has translated from the best Greek texts, and has had 'conference of translations in other tongues,' refers to the annotations wherewith 'I have endeavoured so to profit all thereby that both the learned and others might be helped: for to my knowledge I have omitted nothing unexpounded, whereby he that is anything exercised in the Scriptures of God might justly complain of hardness; and also in respect of them that have more profited in the same, I have explicated all such places by the best learned interpreters, as either falsely expounded by some, or else absurdly applied by others.' The book fully bears out this statement, inasmuch as there is hardly a page without marginal notes, and most pages are full of them. They possess a special interest as being the first example of the Geneva notes, afterwards so famous.

The Geneva Bible of 1560 — Three years after the appearance of Whittingham's Testament, that is, in the year 1560, there issued from the press in Geneva a noble edition of the whole Bible in English. It is a quarto volume, the page being nine inches long by six and a quarter inches broad. The title-page runs: 'The Bible and Holy Scriptures contained in the Old and New Testament. Translated according to the Ebrue and Greke, and conferred with the best translations in divers languages. With most profitable Annotations upon all the hard places, and other things of great importance, as may appear in the Epistle to the Reader.'

Below this stands a woodcut of the crossing of the

Red Sea, with the words of *Exod. xiv. 13* above it: 'Fear not, stand still, and behold the salvation of the Lord, which He will show to you this day.' Running up the left side of the cut are the words, 'Great are the troubles of the righteous,' and down the right side, 'But the Lord delivereth them out of all. *Psa. xxxiv. 19.*' Below the cut, 'The Lord shall fight for you, therefore hold you your peace. *Exod. xiv. 14.*' The imprint is, 'At Geneva. Printed by Rouland Hall, M.D.LX.' On the back of the title is 'The Names and Order of all the Books of the Old and New Testament, with the number of their chapters, and the leat where they begin.' The order of the books is the same as in the A.V. and R.V., and the 'Books called Apocrypha' are included. The book is folioed, not *paged*, in Arabic numerals, the Old Testament and Apocrypha extending to 474 folios, the New Testament to 122 folios, a total in all of 596 folios, or 1,192 pages. The New Testament has a separate title, very similar to the first title, and containing the same wood-block. Prefixed to the Old Testament are—

1. 'To the most virtuous and noble Queen Elizabeth Queen of England and France and Ireland, etc., Your humble subjects of the English Church at Geneva, wish grace and peace from God the Father through Jesus Christ our Lord ;
2. 'To our Beloved in the Lord, the Brethren of England, Scotland, Ireland, etc., Grace, mercy, and peace, through Christ Jesus.'

These two addresses cover three folios, or six pages. After the New Testament come—

1. 'A brief table of the interpretation of the Proper Names which are chiefly found in the Old Testament, wherein the first number signifieth the chapter, the second the verse.
2. 'A table of the principal things that are contained in the Bible, after the order of the alphabet.

3. 'A Perfite Supputation of the Yeres and Times from Adam unto Christ, proved by the Scriptures, after the collection of divers authors,' followed by the words, in large type, of 'Joshua i. 8. Let not this book of the Law depart out of thy mouth, but meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe and do according to all that is written therein: so shalt thou make thy way prosperous, and then shalt thou have good success.'

4. 'The order of the years from Paul's conversion, showing the time of his perigrination, and of his Epistles written to the Churches.'

These pieces occupy fourteen folios, or twenty-eight pages.

The Address to Elizabeth.—The address to Queen Elizabeth is a very different composition from some of the earlier Biblical dedications to Henry VIII., and from the fulsome flattery of James I., which still disfigures the A.V. It begins by showing how hard it is 'to enterprise any worthy act,' and that nothing is more difficult than 'the building of the Lord's Temple, the House of God, the Church of Christ, whereof the Son of God is the head and perfection.' It continues:—

'Considering, therefore, how many enemies there are, which by one means or other, as the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin went about to stay the buildings of that Temple, so labour to hinder the course of this building (whereof some are Papists, who, under pretence of favouring God's Word, traitorously seek to erect idolatry and to destroy your Majesty; some are worldlings, who as Demas have forsaken Christ for the love of this world; others are ambitious prelates, who as Amaziah and Diotrephes can abide none but themselves; and as Demetrius many practice sedition to maintain their errors), we persuaded ourselves that there was no way so expedient and necessary for the preservation of the one and destruction of the other, as to present unto your Majesty the Holy Scriptures faithfully and plainly translated according to the languages wherein they were first written by the Holy Ghost. For the Word of God is an evident token of God's love and our assurance of this defence, wheresoever it is obediently received: it is the trial of the

spirits, and as the Prophet saith, it is as a fire and hammer to break the stony hearts of them that resist God's mercies offered by the preaching of the same. Yea, it is sharper than any two-edged sword, to examine the very thoughts and to judge the affections of the heart, and to discover whatsoever lieth under hypocrisy, and would be secret from the face of God and His Church. So that this must be the first foundation and ground-work, according whereunto the good stones of this building must be framed, and the evil tried out and rejected.'

After pointing out that impediments must be removed, the kind of wisdom needful to the work, the necessary zeal and diligence, that reliance upon God is essential, and that without faith in Christ, and good works as the result of faith, the building cannot proceed, the address concludes:—

'For considering God's wonderful mercies toward you at all seasons, who hath pulled you out of the mouth of the lions, and how that from your youth you have been brought up in the Holy Scriptures, the hope of all men is so increased that they cannot but look that God should bring to pass some wonderful work by your grace to the universal comfort of His Church. Therefore, even above strength you must show yourself strong and bold in God's matters; and though Satan lay all his power and craft together to hurt and hinder the Lord's building: yet be you assured that God will fight from heaven against this great dragon, the ancient serpent which is called the devil and Satan, till He have accomplished the whole worke, and made His Church glorious to Himself without spot or wrinkle. For albeit all other kingdoms and monarchies, as the Babylonians, Persians, Grecians, and Romans have fallen and taken end: yet the Church of Christ even under the Cross hath from the beginning of the world been victorious, and shall be everlastingly. Truth it is, that some time it seemeth to be shadowed with a cloud, or driven with a stormy persecution, yet suddenly the beams of Christ, the Sun of justice, shine and bring it to light and liberty. If for a time it lie covered with ashes, yet it is quickly kindled again by the wind of God's Spirit. Though it seem drowned in the sea, or parched and pined in the wilderness, yet God giveth ever good success, for He punisheth the enemies and delivereth His, nourisheth them, and still preserveth them under His wings. This Lord of lords and King of kings, who hath ever defended His, strengthen, comfort and preserve your Majesty, that you may be able to build up the ruins of

God's house to His glory, the discharge of your conscience, and to the comfort of all them that love the coming of Christ Jesus our Lord. From Geneva, 10 April, 1560.'

The Address to the Readers.—In the address 'To our Beloved,' the method followed in the translation is described. The translators assert—

'This we may with good conscience protest, that we have in every point and word, according to the measure of that knowledge which it pleased Almighty God to give us, faithfully rendered the text, and in all hard places most sincerely expounded the same. For God is our witness that we have by all means endeavoured to set forth the purity of the word and right sense of the Holy Ghost for the edifying of the brethren in faith and clarity. Now, as we have chiefly observed the sense, and laboured always to restore it to all integrity, so have we most reverently kept the propriety of the words, considering that the Apostles, who spake and wrote to the Gentiles in the Greek tongue, rather constrained them to the lively phrase of the Hebrew, than enterprised far by mollifying their language to speak as the Gentiles did, and for this and other causes we have in many places reserved the Hebrew phrases, notwithstanding that they may seem somewhat hard in their ears that are not well practised and also delight in the sweet sounding phrases of the holy Scriptures. Yet, lest either the simple should be discouraged, or the malicious have any occasion of just cavillation, seeing some translations read after one sort, and some after another, whereas all may serve to good purpose and edification, we have in the margin noted that diversity of speech or reading which may also seem agreeable to the mind of the Holy Ghost and proper for our language.'

Specimens of the 1560 Version.—We give a few extracts of the text and marginal notes, which the reader can readily compare with the A.V. and R.V. Gen iii. 1–7 runs:—

1 Now the serpent was more subtil than any beast of the field, which the Lord God had made : and he said to the woman, Yea, hath God in deed said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden ?

2 And the woman said unto the serpent, We eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden,

3 But of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the

garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die.

4 Then the serpent said to the woman, Ye shall not die at all.

5 But God doth know that when ye shall eat thereof, your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods knowing good and evil.

6 So the woman (seeing that the tree was good for meat, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to get knowledge) took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also to her husband with her, and he did eat.

7 Then the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked, and they sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves breeches.

From the last word in this extract the absurd custom has arisen of calling this Bible, and the subsequent editions of it, the 'Breeches Bible.' This is akin to the senseless habit of calling the great Gutenberg Latin Bible, the first book ever printed from movable type, the Mazarine Bible, because a copy was found in the library of that prelate. It is true that all preceding translations had used the word 'apurns' (aprons), but the term breeches was used in Wycliffe's MS. Bible, and in Caxton's edition of the *Golden Legend*, printed in 1483. The true title of this translation is that which places it in the proper historical setting and reveals also something of its nature, viz., the Geneva Bible.

The reader will also notice that here, for the first time in the Old Testament, we get the text broken up into verses; and the fact that this was the first Bible to introduce the misleading and injurious practice is the most serious charge that can be brought against the masterpiece of Whittingham and his associates.

The Marginal Notes.—The marginal notes on

Gen. iii. 1-7 are interesting in themselves, and may serve as samples of those which occur throughout the whole book.

1 *Subtil.*—As Satan can change himself into an Angel of Light, so did he abuse the wisdom of the serpent to deceive man.

2 *He said.*—God suffered Satan to make the serpent his instrument, and to speak in him.

3 *Lest ye die.*—In doubting of God's threatenings, she yielded to Satan.

4 *Die.*—This is Satan's chiefest subtilty, to cause us not to fear God's threatenings.

5 *Knowing good.*—As though he should say, God doth not forbid you to eat of the fruit, save that He knoweth that if you should eat thereof, you should be like to Him.

6 *He did eat.*—Not so much to please his wife, as moved by ambition at her persuasion.

7 *Knewe.*—They began to feel their misery, but they sought not to God for remedy.

As an example of the New Testament translation, we take the opening verses of Luke's Gospel :—

1 Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth the story of those things whereof we are fully persuaded,

2 As they have delivered them unto us, which from the beginning saw them themselves, and were ministers of the word,

3 It seemed good also to me (most noble Theophilus) as soon as I had searched out perfectly all things from the beginning, to write unto thee thereof from point to point,

4 That thou mightest acknowledge the certainty of those things whereof thou hast been instructed.

It was only to be expected that the notes in this Bible should exhibit some decided traces of Calvinistic doctrine, but on the whole they are not so strongly tinged in this respect as might be expected. It is true that two or three are sometimes paraded, as though they were fair samples of the whole. For example, on Romans ix. 15 the note is :—

‘As the only will and purpose of God is the chief cause of election and reprobation : so His free mercie in Christ is an inferior cause of salvation, and the hardening of the heart an inferior cause of damnation.’

On Rev. ix. 3 :—

‘Locusts are false teachers, heretics, and worldly, subtle prelates, with monks, friars, cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, doctors, bachelors, and masters, which forsake Christ to maintain false doctrine.’

But in the great mass of instances the notes are careful, scholarly, and very well calculated to instruct and edify the reader. Many of them were transferred bodily into the Bishops’ Bible of 1568. Not unfrequently there is a pithy directness about them, as, for example, that on Genesis xiii. 13. ‘Lot, thinking to get paradise, found hell.’ Moreover, in both text and notes, the English is well worthy careful study. No earlier Bible can compare with it in regard to the helps afforded to the reader. The only illustrations admitted were cuts of the tabernacle and its contents, and the temple of Ezekiel, and several maps—very good for their day.

It is curious to observe that the text of the 1557 New Testament is not the one included in the 1560. As noted above, the 1557 text was the work of Whittingham, but the text of the New Testament in the 1560 Bible shows many evidences that Whittingham’s work underwent careful and thorough revision at the hands of those associated with him in the larger work of the Bible.

Success of the Geneva Bible.—No competent reader can spend an hour or two in careful examination of a copy of the first edition of the Geneva Bible without coming to the conviction that it thoroughly

deserved the enormous success which it finally achieved. It was the first Bible printed in Roman type, and it was a convenient, handy size. It embodied the best Biblical scholarship of the time, and was in this respect a considerable advance upon all previous editions. The basis is undeniably Tindale's version and the Great Bible, but it abounds in evidences of Hebrew scholarship. After Archbishop Parker's death, and after editions had been printed abroad in 1568, 1569, and 1570, it ran through considerably over 150 editions, and continued to be printed until the middle of the seventeenth century. It was to the men who fought and conquered in the struggle with Charles I. what the Tindale Testaments were to the reformers of Henry VIII.'s day.

CHAPTER IX.

THE BISHOPS' BIBLE.

WHEN in 1537 Cranmer sent a copy of Matthew's Bible to Cromwell, with the desire that he would get Henry VIII. to license it until the bishops should send forth a better, he expressed the view that this would not be until 'a day after doomsday.' However, about thirty years after the date of Cranmer's letter the bishops *did* produce a version, although it was by no means a better version than the 1537, but in a host of important respects vastly inferior.

Some of the men concerned in the Geneva Bible had strong leanings towards Nonconformity, the general drift of many of the notes which it contained was against prelacy, and it addressed even Elizabeth herself, in the dedicatory address, in a way that can hardly have been palatable to that self-contained and haughty lady. Two Bibles occupied the field, Cranmer's, which was the authorized version for use in public worship, so far as any edition could claim to be this, and the Geneva, which was rapidly becoming the household book for family and private use.

The Bishops' Bible. — Parker, consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury in 1558, set on foot a scheme for the production of a new Bible. His plan was to parcel the work out among the various bishops

retaining in his own hands, seemingly, the general oversight and the final revision of the whole.

The rules laid down were :—

1 To follow the common English translation (Cranmer's) used in the churches, and not to recede from it but where it varieth manifestly from the Hebrew or Greek original.

2 To follow the text of Pagninus and Sebastian Münster.

3 To make no bitter notes upon any text, or yet to set down any determination in places of controversy.

4 To mark 'places not edifying,' so that the reader may eschew them in his public reading.

5 That all such words as sound in the old translation to any offence of lightness or obscenity be expressed with more convenient terms and phrases.

From a list of the revisers still preserved in the State Paper Office it appears that Archbishop Parker himself undertook Genesis, Exodus, Matthew, Mark, and all the Pauline epistles except Romans and 1 Corinthians. But the initials printed at the close of sections of the translation do not agree with this list. For example, at the end of the Pentateuch are the initials W.E., which stand for William Alley, Bishop of Exeter. Among those engaged in the work were Grindal, Bishop of London (Minor Prophets); Sandys, Bishop of Worcester (1 Kings to 2 Chronicles); Cox, Bishop of Ely (Gospels and Acts); and about a dozen others. On October 5, 1568, a complete copy of the book was presented by the archbishop to Queen Elizabeth.

In appearance the Bible was a sumptuous volume. It is, with the sole exception of the A. V. folios, the largest Bible printed, and it contains nearly 150 wood engravings. As might be expected, courtly influence is very evident. On the first title, which contains in a border the simple words, 'The Holy Bible con-

taining the Old Testament and the New,' is a large portrait of Elizabeth herself, and below this, in Latin, Romans i. 16. The second title, prefixed to the Book of Joshua, exhibits a portrait of the Earl of Leicester. At the beginning of the first Psalm, and forming a very handsome initial letter B, is a fine portrait, generally assumed to be that of Lord Burleigh.

Prefixed to the text are no less than twenty-four folio leaves, containing a sum of the whole of Scripture, a genealogy of Christ, tables of lessons, Psalms, how to find Easter, etc., an almanack and calendar, Cranmer's prologue, and a new one by Parker, a chronological table and a table of contents.

Parker's prologue, which occupies five closely printed folio pages, consists of an interesting and forcible application of the passage, 'Search the Scriptures.' In the course of it he gives his account of the genesis of the new translation :—

'For that the copies thereof (of the Great Bible) be so wasted that very many churches do want their convenient Bibles, it was thought good to some well-disposed men to recognize the same Bible again into this form as it is now come out, with some further diligence in the printing, and with some more light added, partly in the translation and partly in the order of the text, not as condemning the former translation, which was followed mostly of any other translation, excepting the original text from which as little variance was made as was thought meet to such as took pains therein : desiring thee, good reader, if aught be escaped, either by such as had the expending of the books, or by the oversight of the printer, to correct the same in the spirit of charity, calling to remembrance what diversity hath been seen in men's judgments in the translation of these books before these days, though all directed their labours to the glory of God, to the edification of the Church, to the comfort of their Christian brethren, and always as God did further open unto them, so ever more desirous they were to reform their former human oversights, rather than in a stubborn wilfulness to resist the gift

of the Holy Ghost, who from time to time is resident as that Heavenly Teacher and Leader into all truth, by whose direction the Church is ruled and governed.'

It is noteworthy that there is no dedicatory note or address to this Bible.

In 1571 Convocation ordered that 'every archbishop and bishop should have at his house a copy of the Holy Bible of the largest volume as lately printed at London, and that it should be placed in the hall or large dining-room, that it might be useful to servants or to strangers.' Each cathedral and, as far as it could conveniently be done, each church was to have a copy.

Notwithstanding the high episcopal sanction and supervision with which this Bible was favoured, it is the most unsatisfactory and useless of all the old translations. In 1569 an edition in quarto was issued, which corrected a large number of the blunders and misprints of the 1568 edition. In 1572 the second folio edition appeared. Curiously enough, in this all the corrections made in 1569 in the Old Testament are ignored, and it returns to the 1568 text, but in the New Testament there are many signs of careful revision. During the last quarter of the Sixteenth Century the Bishops' Bible was very frequently reprinted, and the 1602 folio edition served as the basis for James the First's revision.

The Bishops' Version of the Psalms.—

The most interesting point about the 1568 Bible was that it gave a new version of the Psalms. The Old Testament is practically a revision of the Great Bible; and of the new renderings from the Hebrew which it contains Dr. Westcott says, 'as a general rule they

appear to be arbitrary and at variance with the exact sense of the Hebrew text.'

But this edition further affords a striking evidence of the power of custom and familiarity in religious matters. Coverdale's version of the Psalms had in the course of thirty-three years become familiar to the eye and the ear of the nation. Parker, however, did not like to give up without a struggle his new version of the Psalms. And so in 1572 a compromise was attempted, and the folio Bible of that year is remarkable because it prints the old and the new psalter in parallel columns, one in black letter and one in Roman.

The folio editions of the Bishops' Bible, like the Geneva, had explanatory side-notes. Those in the former, though plentiful, are nothing like so numerous as in the latter. They are also 'shorter and more epigrammatic, and deal more frequently with the interpretation than with the application of the text.' Here are a few specimens:—

Gen. 1. 2.—*To embalm*.—This was to the godly then an outward token of incorruption, but to the ignorant a vain ceremony.

Psalms xlv. 9.—Ophir is thought to be the island in the west coast of late found by Christopher Colombo: from whence at this day is brought most fine gold.

Luke iv. 6.—Satan betrayeth himself, showing his bold sacrilege, usurping the empire of the earth.

Phil. ii. 12.—Our health hangeth not on our works, and yet are they said to work out their health who do run in the race of justice. For, although we be saved freely in Christ by faith, yet must we walk by the way of justice unto our health.'

CHAPTER X.

THE FIRST ROMAN CATHOLIC ENGLISH BIBLE.

THE first version of the New Testament published in English by Roman Catholic scholars was issued at Rheims in 1582, fourteen years after the publication of the Bishops' Bible. The title-page is a somewhat formidable document, and runs as follows :

'The New Testament of Jesus Christ, translated faithfully into English out of the authentical Latin, according to the best corrected copies of the same, diligently conferred with the Greeke and other editions in divers languages : with arguments of bookes and chapters, annotations, and other necessary helps, for the better understanding of the text, and specially for the discoverie of the corruptions of divers late translations, and for cleering the controversies in religion of these daies : In the English College of Rhemes.'

Then follows the

'Preface to the Reader treating of these three points : of the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the vulgar tongues, and namely into English : of the causes why this New Testament is translated according to the ancient vulgar Latin text, and of the manner of translating the same.'

The Rhemes Translation.—Made by Roman Catholics for the express purpose of combating the influence of the various Protestant English Bibles, this translation naturally takes high Romanist ground. And yet comparatively little fault can be found with the *translation* on doctrinal grounds. The style, on the other hand, and the choice of words are open to

very serious criticism. In fact, it is hardly too much to say that many passages are barely intelligible to the ordinary reader. But the prefaces and marginal notes and the annotations with which every chapter is furnished are saturated with Romanist doctrine, and abound in all the characteristic false teaching against which the Reformers contended, and which the English Bible overthrew.

The Rhemes Testament sprang out of the great effort made, chiefly under the inspiration and guidance of Cardinal Allen, in Elizabeth's reign, to win England back to the fold of Rome. The translation, which, being from the old Latin, is only a secondary version, is due chiefly to the labours of Gregory Martin, once a Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Allen himself, Dr. Bristow, and Dr. J. Reynolds, are said to have assisted him; and the copious notes are ascribed to Dr. Bristow. But there is no certain information as to the exact number of scholars employed, and the share of work done by each.

The most remarkable feature of this translation is a very literal transference into the text of the very words and phrases of the Latin—

'which may seem to the vulgar reader and to common English ears not yet acquainted therewith rudeness or ignorance; but to the discreet reader that deeply weigheth and considereth the importance of sacred words and speeches, and how easily the voluntary translator may miss the true sense of the Holy Ghost, we doubt not but our consideration and doing therein shall seem reasonable and necessary; yea, and that all sorts of Catholic readers will in short time think that familiar which at the first may seem strange, and will esteem it more when they shall otherwise be taught to understand it than if it were the common known English.'

Specimen of the Translation.—However this

may be, even on the ground of the purity of the English language, it is a fortunate thing that the Rhemes Testament never became popular. Otherwise, we should read, as this Testament does :

‘From that time Jesus began to preach and to say, Doe penance, for the kingdom of God is at hand.’

‘Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after justice ; for they shall have their fill.’

‘The first treatise I made of all things, O Theophilus, which Jesus began to do and to teach until the day wherein giving commandment by the Holy Ghost to the apostles whom He chose He was assumed.’

‘And coming, He evangelized peace to you that were far off, and peace to them that were nigh. For by Him we have access both in one spirit to the Father. Now then you are not strangers and foreigners ; but you are citizens of the saints, and the domesticals of God.’

‘To me, the least of all the saints, is given this grace among the Gentiles to evangelize the unsearchable riches of Christ, and to illuminate all men what is the dispensation of the sacrament hidden from the worlds in God who created all things ; that the manifold wisdom of God may be notified to the princes and potestats in the celestials by the Church according to the pre-finition of the worlds which He made in Christ Jesus our Lord.’

These are but a few samples of the extraordinary use of words found in this version. There are many traces in the A.V. which show that King James’s translators studied the Rhemes New Testament very carefully, and had it constantly before them. But, fortunately, they transferred very few of its most characteristic words and phrases.

The Marginal Notes.—The main object of the work was polemical. It abounds in marginal notes and annotations, all intended either to confute ‘Here-tikes’ or to confirm the teaching and practices of the Roman Catholic Church. A good notion of the kind

of influence the book was intended to exert may be gained from a study of the notes attached to the Acts of the Apostles.

Upon Acts i. 14, 'Marie, the mother of Jesus,' there is a very long controversial note, which collects some absurd traditions—for example this :

'They buried her sacred body in Gethsemane, but for St. Thomas's sake, who desired to see and reverence it, they opened the sepulchre the third day, and finding it void of the holy body, but exceedingly fragrant, they returned, assuredly deeming that her body was assumed into heaven, as the Church of God holdeth, being most agreeable to the singular privilege of the mother of God, and therefore celebrateth most solemnly the day of her assumption.'

Having thus asserted an utterly absurd fancy, the note proceeds :

'But neither these holy fathers (viz., Denys and Damascenus and Athanasius, who are said to assert the above nonsense), nor the Church's tradition and testimony, do bear any sway nowadays with the Protestants, that have abolished this her greatest feast of her Assumption, who of reason should at the least celebrate it as the day of her death, as they do of other Saints.'

And much more of the same kind.

On Acts iii. 1, 'the ninth hour of prayer,' they write :

'This maketh for distinction of canonical hours, and diversity of appointed times to pray.'

On iii. 21, 'Whom heaven truly must receive until the times of the restitution of all things,' they write :

'Some Heretikes foully corrupt this place, thus *who must be contained in heaven* of purpose (as they protest) to hold Christ in heaven from the Blessed Sacrament. Beza. As though His presence there drew Him out of heaven.'

On vii. 58, 'they stoned him,' the note is :

'Read a marvellous narration in St. Augustine of one stone,

that hitting the martyr on the elbow rebounded back to a faithful man that stood near, who keeping and carrying it with him, was by revelation warned to leave it at Ancona in Italy : whereupon a church or memory of St. Stephen was there erected, and many miracles done after the said martyr's body was found out, and not before.'

On viii. 27, 'was come to Jerusalem to adore,' they write :

'Note that this Ethiopian came to Jerusalem to adore, that is, on pilgrimage, whereby we may learn that it is an acceptable act of religion to go from home to places of greater devotion and sanctification.'

And upon verse 31, 'How can I unless some man shew me?' they note :

'The Scriptures are so written that they cannot be understood without an interpreter, as easy as our Protestants make them.'

On viii. 38, 'He baptized him,' in this rough-and-ready way they seek to establish Romish custom :

'When the Heretikes of this time find mention made in Scripture of any sacrament ministered by the apostles or other in the Primitive Church, they imagine no more was done than there is expressly told, nor scarcely believe so much. As if imposition of hands in the Sacrament of Confirmation be only expressed, they think there was no chrism nor other work or word used. So they think no more ceremony was used in the baptizing of this noble man than here is mentioned. Whereupon St. Augustine hath these memorable words, "In that he saith Philip baptized him, he would have it understood that all things were done which, though in the Scripture, for brevity sake, they are not mentioned, yet by order of tradition we know were to be done."'

Another instance of the same kind is xiii. 2, 'As they were ministering,' which is thus annotated :

'If we should, as our adversaries do, boldly turn what texts we list, and flee from one language to another for the advantage of our cause, we might have translated for *ministering*, *sacrificing*, for so the Greek doth signify, and so Erasmus translated. Yea, we might have translated *saying mass*, for so they did; and the

Greek fathers hereot had their name Liturgy, which Erasmus translated *mass*. But we keep our text, as the translators of the Scriptures should do most religiously.'

One more example will suffice. On xx. 29, 'ravening wolves,' this gloss occurs :

'The governors of the Church are foretold of the great danger that should fall to the people by wolves, that is to say, by Heretikes, whose cruelty toward the Catholics is noted by this term. They be known by forsaking the unity of the Church, whereof they were before, by going out and drawing many disciples after them, and by their perverse doctrine. Such wolves came afterward, indeed, in divers ages, Arius, Macedonius, Nestorius, Eutyches, Luther, Calvin,—great blood-sucking wolves—and wasters of the flock of Christ.'

The above illustrations are a fair sample of what Roman Catholic controversialists of the sixteenth century were capable. Truth and error are mixed up in the most dangerous way. At the end of the Acts is a minute and circumstantial but altogether baseless account of how and when the apostles met together and formulated what is called 'The Apostles' Creed,' although there is not a shred of evidence extant to the effect that the apostles ever heard of the creed. Ridiculous stories, such as the miracle-working power of filings from the chains of St. Paul, abound. The most bitter and persistent attacks are made upon the Reformers. The practices of the Church of Rome are bolstered up, not by Scripture, but chiefly by quotations from the Fathers, similar in kind to those we have given above. Any one who wishes to understand clearly how it was that the Reformation of the sixteenth century conquered all the power of Rome would do well to compare carefully the Geneva New Testament and the Rhemes. In the former, common-sense, sound scholarship, freedom from superstition,

and vigorous English are admirably combined ; in the latter, bad English, bondage to ecclesiastical tradition and superstition, and a fierce polemic, which is in itself a confession of defeat, show that the work is the production of men who have lost their fitness to rule the faith or guide the lives of men.

The Douay Old Testament.—Twenty-seven years passed away after the publication of the Rhemes Testament before the Roman Catholics completed their version of the Bible by the issue of the Old Testament portion. Upon the title-page stands the imprint:—

‘ Printed at Doway by Lawrence Kellam, at the sign of the Holy Lamb, M.DC.IX.’

The long delay is thus accounted for in the preface :

‘ As for the impediments which hitherto have hindered this work ; they all proceeded (as many do know) from one general cause : our poor estate in banishment.’

The main reason for the version is thus stated :

‘ Now since Luther and his followers have pretended that the Catholic Roman faith and doctrine should be contrary to God’s written word, and that the Scriptures were not suffered in the vulgar languages, lest the people should see the truth, and withal these new masters corruptly turning the Scriptures into divers tongues, as might best serve their own opinions : against this false suggestion and practice Catholic pastors have, for one especial remedy, set forth true and sincere translations in most languages of the Latin Church.’

They go on to state that they translate from the Latin rather than the Hebrew or Greek text because—

‘ both the Hebrew and Greek editions are foully corrupted by Jews and Heretics, since the Latin was truly translated out of them while they were more pure.’

The habit of not translating many Latin terms is thus defended :—

‘English not having a name or a sufficient term, we either keep the word as we find it, or only turn it to our English termination, because it would otherwise require many words in English to signify one word of another tongue. . . . the sense whereof indeed is soon learned, as if they were turned so near as is possible into English. Why then may we not say *Pasch*, *Azimes*, *Breads of Proposition*, *Holocaust*, and the like? rather than as Protestants translate them; *Passover*, *The Feast of Sweetbreads*, *Shewbreads*, *Burnt Offerings*, etc.’

The plan and method are similar to those followed in the Rhemes New Testament. Arguments are prefixed to the books, there are numerous marginal notes, and at the end of many chapters there are annotations upon points of special importance. The whole book is as uncompromisingly Romanist as the New Testament, although there are many signs that the later translators of the latter volume did not feel quite so certain of Rome’s ultimate triumph.

Specimens of the Translation.—The Pentateuch and the Historical books are fairly well translated, but the Psalms and Prophetical books are very inferior work. As an example of the former, we may take 1 Samuel xvi. 4-7 :

‘Samuel therefore did as our Lord spake to him. And he came into Bethlehem, and the ancients of the city marvelled, meeting him, and they said, Is thy entrance peaceable? And he said, Peaceable : I am come to immolate unto our Lord, be ye sanctified, and come with me, that I may immolate ! He therefore sanctified Isai and his sons, and called them to the sacrifice. And when they were entered in he saw Eliab, and said : Is there before our Lord his Christ? And our Lord said to Samuel : Respect not his countenance, nor the tallness of his stature : because I have rejected him, neither do I judge according to the look of man : for man seeth those things which appear, but our Lord beholdeth the heart.’

The Notes.—The marginal note upon 1 Samuel xvi. 16, ‘a man skilful to play on the harp,’ runs :

‘Naturally (as these men truly judge) music helpeth some ill-disposition of humours, and draweth also the mind from so vehement apprehension of afflictions : but here it seemeth more probable that God supernaturally relieved Saul by David’s playing on the harp, together with his sincere devotion, for more manifest condemnation of the one and justification of the other ;’

and that upon 1 Sam. xvii. 4, Goliath :

‘This bold and impudent challenger signifieth the devil, or any arch heretic that provoketh the Church of God, but is overcome by the humble of heart and confident in God, and slain with his own weapon.’

The very considerable difficulty in 1 Sam. xvii. 55, of Saul’s not knowing David, is met by the note :

‘Saul knew not David, being perhaps in a shepherd’s habit, though he had not long before served and pleased him well.’

The Psalter.—The Psalter is the least satisfactory part of this version—a result due, in the first place, to the faulty character of the text in the Latin Bible, which was a very indifferent translation of the Septuagint. This means that it was the English translation of a Latin translation of a Greek version of the original Hebrew. Such a history could hardly give satisfactory results. We have in an earlier chapter quoted Psalm xxiii.¹ Take as further illustrations, first, Psalm viii. 1–6 :

‘O Lord, our Lord, how marvellous is Thy name in the whole earth ! Because Thy magnificence is elevated above the heavens. Out of the mouth of infants and sucklings Thou hast perfected praise because of Thine enemies, that Thou mayest destroy the enemy and the revenger. Because I shall see thy

¹ See page 69.

heavens, the work of Thy fingers: the moon and the stars which Thou hast founded. What is man that Thou art mindful of him? Or the son of man that Thou visitest him? Thou hast minished him a little less than angels: with glory and honour Thou hast crowned him.'

The heading of the Psalm runs, 'Unto the end for presses, the Psalm of David,' and upon the word 'presses' there is the following remarkable annotation:

'Most Hebrew doctors say the word *Gittith* may either signify the place where this Psalm was made, or the musical instrument on which it was sung. But most Christian doctors expound it literally of Christ's Passion, who was stretched on the cross, and all His sacred blood pressed and drawn out of His body. Which metaphor Isaias also useth, demanding of Christ: Why is Thy clothing red, and Thy garments as theirs that tread in the *vine press*? and answereth in Christ's person: I have trodden the *press* alone.'

Our second example is Psalm lxxxvii., headed, 'To the Children of Core, a Psalm of Canticle:'

'The foundations thereof in the holy mountains: our Lord loveth the gates of Sion above all the tabernacles of Jacob. Glorious things are said of thee, O city of God! I will be mindful of Raab and Babylon knowing me. Behold the foreigners, and Tyre, and the people of the Ethiopians, these were there. Shall it not be said of Sion, Man and man is born in her, and the Highest himself founded her? Our Lord will declare in scriptures of people and of princes: of those that have been in her. The habitation in thee is, as it were, of all rejoicing.'

One example from the prophets—Isaiah liii. 3-5—must suffice:

'Despised and most abject of men, a man of sorrows and knowing infirmity: and his look, as it were, hid and despised, whereupon neither have we esteemed him. He surely hath borne our infirmities, and our sorrows he hath carried: and we have thought him, as it were, a leper, and stricken of God and humbled. But he was wounded for our iniquities, he

was broken for our sins : the discipline of our peace was upon Him, and with the waile of his stripe we are healed.'

Looked at from the point of view of what an English Bible should be, this is undoubtedly the worst of all the early translations. It would, however, be a great mistake to suppose that its merits are few and small. There is a very great deal of sound scholarship in the work, and its influence upon the Authorised Version was by no means inconsiderable. Following the Latin text, it could not but be very far in many important respects from the true text. But where the Latin could be of no service, and where there was scope for exact Greek scholarship—for example, in the translation of the Greek article—this version stands high. It has also enriched the English language with many words that might not otherwise have found a place—such, for instance, as 'acquisition,' 'victim,' 'gratis,' 'allegory,' 'advent,' 'resuscitate,' 'expectation.'

'Nothing,' writes Dr. Moulton, 'is easier than to accumulate instances of the eccentricity of this version, of its obscure and inflated renderings ; but only minute study can do justice to its faithfulness, and to the care with which the translators executed their work. Every other English version is to be preferred to this, if it must be taken as a whole ; no other English version will prove more instructive to the student who will take the pains to separate what is good and useful from what is ill-advised and wrong.'

CHAPTER XI.

THE AUTHORIZED VERSION, 1611.

THE version of the English Bible which was gradually to acquire the title of 'Authorized,' because of its intrinsic merits, and not by virtue of any ecclesiastical or legislative action, was published in 1611. It gradually won its way to supremacy over all other versions, and remained unchallenged by any rival until the year 1881, when the Revised New Testament was issued. Thus for two hundred and seventy years King James's Bible ~~held the field~~. In the opinion of large numbers it yet holds the field, although in the writer's view, the Revised Version, from its greater accuracy, and because translated from a better original text, will ultimately win the day. Jerome's new Latin Version, the Vulgate, was at its first appearance assailed with all kinds of angry criticism, and much unfair abuse. But it was a better version than any of its predecessors, and hence vanquished them all, and became for more than one thousand years the recognised Bible of Western Christendom.

Throughout Elizabeth's reign there were two rival English Bibles; the one, the Bishops', supported by the Church and Parliament, and placed by authority in the churches of the realm; the other, done at Geneva, but issued in popular form and widely used,

not only by the people, but even by the clergy. The relative popularity of the two may be seen from the fact that, of the Bishops' Bible, there were published twenty editions—thirteen folio, six quarto, and one octavo. Of the Geneva, there were considerably over a hundred editions, and of these only eighteen were folio.

Origin of the Authorized Version.—Soon after James I. ascended the throne, the differences between the Puritan and High Church parties grew greater and more active, instead of less. A conference between leading men of both sections was proposed, and the king, possessed of a curious mixture of learning and vanity, flattered himself with the belief that he would be able to confute the Puritans. The conference assembled at Hampton Court in January, 1604, the Puritan leader being Dr. Reynolds, President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. On the second day of the conference he

‘moved His Majesty that there might be a new translation of the Bible, because those which were allowed in the reign of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. were corrupt and not answerable to the truth of the original.’

The examples he gave were not by any means the strongest that might have been chosen, and there was some force in the Bishop of London's rejoinder,

‘If every man's humour should be followed there would be no end of translating.’

But the king took up the suggestion, and

‘wished that some special pains should be taken in that behalf for one uniform translation (professing that he could never yet see a Bible well translated in English, but the worst of all his Majesty thought the Geneva to be), and this to be done by the best learned in both the Universities ; after them to be reviewed

by the bishops and the chief learned of the Church ; from them to be presented to the Privy Council ; and lastly, to be ratified by his royal authority. . . . He gave this caveat (upon a word cast out by my Lord of London) that no marginal notes should be added, having found in them, which are annexed to the Geneva translation, some notes very partial, untrue, seditious, and savouring too much of dangerous and traitorous conceits.'

King James took up the idea of a new translation warmly, and the accomplishment was in all probability largely the result of his efforts. No notice was taken of the project in a meeting of Convocation, which followed closely upon the Hampton Court Conference. A letter still extant from James to the Bishop of London, dated July 22nd, 1604, states that he has chosen fifty-four translators to meet in various companies at Westminster, Oxford, and Cambridge, under the presidency of the Dean of Westminster, and the two university Hebrew professors.

'Furthermore,' he writes, 'we require you to move all our bishops to inform themselves of all such learned men within their several dioceses, as, having especial skill in the Hebrew and Greek tongues, have taken pains in their private studies of the Scriptures for the clearing of any obscurities either in the Hebrew or in the Greek, or touching any difficulties or mistakings in the former English translation, which we have now commanded to be thoroughly viewed and amended, and thereupon to write unto them, earnestly charging them and signifying our pleasure therein that they send such their observations.'

The Revisers of 1611.—The bishops and chapters were to contribute the expenses of the work ; but as this was left a voluntary act, it is, perhaps, not surprising to hear that nothing was given, and that the translators received nothing save free entertainment in the colleges ; those who completed the revision in London were paid. This and a great

many other details are obscure, and in regard to many matters upon which we should be glad to have information, we are left quite in the dark. Thus, although the work was decided upon and arranged for in 1604, it was 1607 before the translators began their task. On the list of translators only forty-seven instead of fifty-four names appear.

Genesis to 2 Kings inclusive was allotted to a company of ten meeting at Westminster, and presided over by the Dean, Dr. Andrews. 1 Chronicles to Ecclesiastes fell to the Cambridge company of eight, with Mr. Lively, Hebrew Professor, as president. Isaiah to Malachi was given to a company meeting at Oxford, presided over by Dr. Harding, Professor of Hebrew, and including Dr. Reynolds, of Corpus Christi College, the Puritan leader. The Apocrypha was translated by another Cambridge seven, with Dr. Duport in the chair. The Gospels, Acts, and Apocalypse at Oxford, by eight scholars, led by Dr. Ravis, Dean of Christ Church. And the Epistles by a second Westminster company, seven in all, with Dr. Barlow, Dean of Chester, presiding. Mr. Lively died in 1605, and Dr. Reynolds, out of whose suggestion the great undertaking sprang, died in 1607.

The General Rules to be followed.—There seems to be evidence, apart from the Authorized Version itself, that many, if not all, of these revisers were able and well-equipped scholars. A body of no less than fourteen rules was drawn up for their guidance; but they do not appear to have felt fettered by it, or compelled even to obey it very implicitly.

Rule 14 runs:—

'These translations are to be used when they agree better with the text than the Bishops' Bible ; Tindale's, Matthew's, Coverdale's, Whitchurch's, Geneva.'

No mention is made here of the Rhemes and Douay, which exerted considerable influence. But the rule keeps before us a fact ever to be borne in mind, that while in many respects to William Tindale belongs the highest honour in connection with the English Bible, as we now have it, that Bible is the result of the labours of scholars belonging to different churches, trained in different schools, looking at truth from different standpoints, but all actuated by the one common desire of expressing in the vernacular, to the very best of their ability, the exact statements of God's Holy Word.

Rule 6 runs :—

'No marginal notes at all to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the Hebrew or Greek words which cannot, without some circumlocution, so briefly and fitly be expressed in the text.'

Useful as many of the notes undoubtedly were—and still are to the student, as they appear in Tindale, Matthew, the Geneva, and the Bishops' Bible—few will now question the wisdom of a rule removing altogether expressions of opinion upon controverted points and ecclesiastical practices from the pages of the Bible.

Rule 9—

'As any one company hath despatched any one book they shall send it to the rest to be considered of seriously and judiciously, for his Majesty is very careful upon this point'—

seems never to have been followed. Like other matters of high importance in the seventeenth century,

even the fact that the king was 'very careful' upon the point was not sufficient to ensure its performance.

The most unfortunate of the whole fourteen rules were numbers 3 and 5, which run—

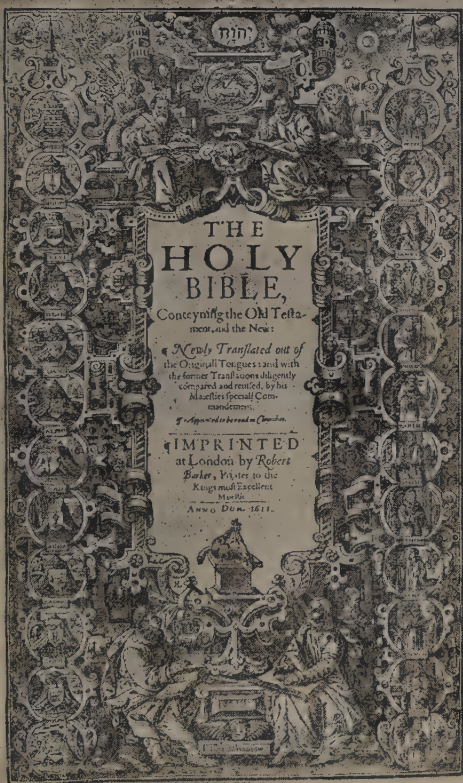
'The old ecclesiastical words to be kept, viz., the word *church* not to be translated *congregation*, etc.'

'The division of chapters to be altered either not at all, or as little as may be, if necessity so require.'

By the latter rule the mischievous practice of mutilating the sense of Scripture, dividing it up, and thus rendering it difficult to follow the narrative or argument by chapters and verses, was perpetuated for nearly three centuries.

The first draft translation was completed towards the end, probably, of 1609. Nine months were occupied with a final revision in London by six revisers, two from each centre—Westminster, Oxford and Cambridge. Dr. Smith and Bishop Bilson saw the volume through the press, and Robert Barker printed it. It is singular that of so important an undertaking as the preparation of the Authorized Version we have no authentic contemporary history and documents. None of the copies of the Bible that were revised and altered appear to have survived, or if they have, to have been identified; no MSS. are known that can be clearly identified as the revisers' work, and we are indebted for what we do know of the matter to some scanty and slight contemporary references.

Description of the 1611 Bible.—There are practically three first issues of the A.V., known as the He Bible, the She Bible, and the 1613--1611 edition, that is, the Old Testament title-page bearing the date



THE WOOD-BLOCK TITLE-PAGE TO THE AUTHORIZED
VERSION, 1611.

(Size of original block 14 by 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches.)

1613, the New Testament 1611. All three are fine, handsome folios, printed in a bold black letter. Although the author's view is that Mr. Fry's arguments for the absolute priority of the He Bible are not conclusive, yet as all three editions are alike in the chief bibliographical details, a copy of that issue shall be described as typical. The page of type is in double columns, and is enclosed in rules, and, measuring to the outside of the rules, is $14\frac{1}{4}$ inches long by 9 inches wide. Copies possessing that amount of margin which entitles them to be considered 'fine and large' measure at least $16\frac{1}{2}$ by $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It is printed on thick paper, contains 750 leaves, or 1,500 pages, and is over 3 inches in thickness, excluding the covers. Some copies possess a very handsome engraved title-page, others a wood-block title, used also in the 1602 Bishops' Bible. The letterpress of the title runs, 'The Holy Bible, conteyning the Old Testament and the New: Newly Translated out of the originall Tongues: and with the former Translations diligently compared and revised, by his Majestie's speciall Commandement. Appointed to be read in churches. Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majestie. Anno Dom. 1611.' Then follows the Dedication to James I., three pages; 'The Translators to the Reader,' eleven pages; Kalendar, twelve pages; Almanack for xxxix. yeares, etc., two pages; Table of Proper Lessons, etc., five pages; and 'The Names and Order of all the Books,' one page. Thirty-six pages, or eighteen leaves, in all. Many copies contain a handsome engraved double-page map of Canaan, with an alphabetical table of all the places mentioned upon the

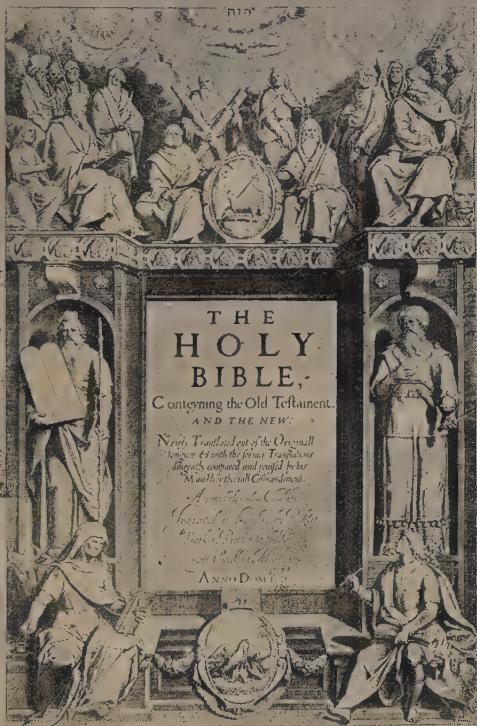
back. The reign of James I. was the golden age of monopolists, and the A.V. affords a conspicuous illustration in point. To a certain John Speed the king sold the right of inserting into every copy of every edition of the A.V. a copy of his 'Genealogies of Holy Scripture,' Speed, of course, receiving payment for every copy thus enriched. In the author's copy of the 1611 Bible this document, covering thirty-six pages, or eighteen leaves, comes between the map and Genesis. There are no woodcuts in the text and no other maps or illustrations. There are many very fine initials. The New Testament has a separate title in the same wood-block as the first, and the book ends with the word FINIS printed at the bottom of the page, one full of type, containing Revelation xxii.

There are many bibliographical puzzles connected with this Bible. The separate and distinct issues of the first edition are so exactly alike in appearance, and the words on the page are arranged so similarly, that many leaves of one may be and have been exchanged for the other. From the fact that in Ruth iii. 15, one edition reads 'and *he* went into the city,' while the other reads '*she* went into the city,' the two editions are known as the He and She Bibles. Careful scrutiny shows that they were set up in type independently, and that the He Bibles have one set of errors, and the She Bibles quite another. It is supposed that in order to meet the demand two independent printers were employed, or else that Barker got some one to help him, who followed a standard copy different from his own. It is generally supposed that the He Bible is the real first edition, though no less an authority than Mr. Scrivener pronounced

for the She Bible. Other *folio* editions followed in 1613, 1617, 1634 and 1640. The 1613 edition is in smaller type, and is hence easily recognised. The other editions resemble one another very closely. The first *octavo* and *quarto* editions were published in 1612, and from that date onwards the book was reprinted steadily, although it was twenty-five years before it finally vanquished the Geneva.

Another peculiarity is the title-page. Some copies have a handsome steel plate, and some a fine woodcut title. Here the fact seems to be that the plate was intended for all, but was not ready in time, and hence is often missing in genuine first editions. No copy ought to possess both.

The Translators to the Reader.—The revisers prefixed to their work two statements. The first, the dedication to King James, is, unfortunately, still allowed to be printed. The second is the revisers' own account of their work, called 'The Translators to the Reader,' attributed to Dr. Miles Smith, who afterwards became Bishop of Gloucester. This, most unhappily, long ago ceased to form part of the ordinary editions, and has probably never been read by one in a hundred thousand readers of the Bible; and yet it is a most valuable and suggestive document. It begins with an admission that anything new, especially in religion, 'is sure to be misconstrued, and in danger to be condemned.' It then pays a tribute, probably well deserved, to King James's interest in the work and desire for its completion. It next pays a long and beautifully expressed tribute to the unapproachable excellency of Holy Scripture.



THE ENGRAVED TITLE-PAGE TO THE AUTHORIZED
VERSION, 1611.

(Size of original plate $13\frac{3}{8}$ by $8\frac{3}{8}$ inches.)

‘It is not only an armour, but also a whole armoury of weapons, both offensive and defensive; whereby we may save ourselves and put the enemy to flight. It is not an herb, but a tree, or rather a whole paradise of trees of life, which bring forth fruit every month, and the fruit thereof is for meat, and the leaves for medicine. . . . In a word, it is a panary of wholesome food against fenowed (mouldy) traditions; a physician’s shop (as St. Basil calleth it) of preservatives against poisoned heresies; a pandect of profitable laws against rebellious spirits; a treasury of most costly jewels against beggarly rudiments; finally, a fountain of most pure water springing up unto everlasting life.’

But the Word of God must be in a language men can understand before it can be useful, and hence the need for translation.

‘Translation it is that openeth the window, to let in the light; that breaketh the shell, that we may eat the kernel; that putteth aside the curtain, that we may look into the most holy place; that removeth the cover of the well, that we may come by the water; even as Jacob rolled away the stone from the mouth of the well, by which means the flocks of Laban were watered. Indeed, without translation into the vulgar tongue, the unlearned are but like children at Jacob’s well (which was deep) without a bucket or something to draw with; or as that person mentioned by Esay (Isaiah xxix. 11), to whom when a sealed book was delivered with this motion, “Read this, I pray thee,” he was fain to make this answer, “I cannot, for it is sealed.”’

After a somewhat lengthy but most interesting sketch of ancient versions, and an assault upon the Romish Church for its unwillingness to sanction the reading of the Bible, Dr. Smith deals with those who held that there was no need for a new English version, and that the undertaking cast a slight upon the earlier English Bibles, and states:

‘We are so far off from condemning any of their labours that travailed before us in this kind, either in this land or beyond sea, either in King Henry’s time, or King Edward’s (if there were any translation, or correction of a translation, in his time),

or Queen Elizabeth's of ever-renowned memory, that we acknowledge them to have been raised up of God for the building and furnishing of His Church, and that they deserve to be had of us and of posterity in everlasting remembrance.'

The object of the revisers is finally thus stated :

'Truly, good Christian reader, we never thought from the beginning that we should need to make a new translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one, . . . but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones one principal good one, not justly to be excepted against ; that hath been our endeavour, that our work. To that purpose were many chosen, that were greater in other men's eyes than in their own, and that sought the truth rather than their own praise.'

These learned men—'not too many, lest one should trouble another ; and yet many, lest many things might haply escape them'—assembled, relying upon God's help, with the Hebrew and the Greek texts before them.

'Neither did we run over the work with that posting haste that the *Septuagint* did, if that be true which is reported of them, that they finished it in 72 days. . . . The work . . . hath cost the workmen, as light as it seemeth, the pains of twice seven times seventy-two days and more : matters of such weight and consequence are to be speeded with maturity : for in a business of moment a man feareth not the blame of convenient slackness. . . . Neither did we disdain to revise that which we had done, and to bring back to the anvil that which we had hammered : but having and using as great helps as were needful, and fearing no reproach for slowness, nor coveting praise for expedition, we have at length, through the good hand of the Lord upon us, brought the work to that pass that you see.'

After a defence of the insertion of explanatory notes and of the practice of translating the same Hebrew and Greek word by two or more English words—a most unfortunate practice—the preface closes with a fervent appeal to the reader.

'It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God ; but ■ blessed thing it is, and will bring us into everlasting bless-

edness in the end, when God speaketh unto us, to hearken ; when He setteth His Word before us, to read it ; when He stretcheth out His hand and calleth, to answer, " Here am I, here we are to do Thy will, O God." "

Examples of the 1611 Revision.—Turning now to the work itself, it has been estimated that the number of new words introduced by the A.V. is not more than four in a hundred. The Genevan version throughout, and the Rhemes version in the New Testament, were much more closely followed than the Great Bible or the Bishops'. The simplest way of illustrating this statement without going into minute details, and at the same time showing how largely all subsequent versions were indebted to Tindale, is to print three passages side by side as they stand in the most important of the earlier versions, quoting Tindale from Matthew's Bible.

These passages have been chosen, not on account of any special difficulties which they present, but simply because they are among the most familiar of all Bible words. Each reader can examine and compare the different renderings, and by this comparison be enabled to comprehend better the way in which many different minds have contributed towards the production of the A.V.

I.—GENESIS xxxvii. 3–6.

MATTHEW'S. 1537.

And Israel loved Joseph more than all his children, because he begat him in his old age, and he made him a coat of many colours. When his brethren saw that their father loved him more than

GENEVA. 1560.

Now Israel loved Joseph more than all his sons, because he begat him in his old age, and he made him a coat of many colours. So when his brethren saw that their father loved him more than

all his brethren, they hated him, and could not speak one kind word unto him. Moreover, Joseph dreamed a dream, and told it his brethren, wherefore they hated him yet the more. And he said unto them, Hear, I pray you, this dream which I have dreamed.

BISHOPS'. 1568.

And Israel loved Joseph more than all his children, because he begat him in his old age; and he made him a coat of many colours. And when his brethren saw that their father loved him more than all his brethren, they hated him, and could not speak peaceably unto him. Moreover, when Joseph had dreamed a dream, he told it to his brethren, which hated him yet the more. And he said unto them, Hear, I pray you, this dream which I have dreamed.

all his brethren, then they hated him, and could not speak peaceably unto him. And Joseph dreamed a dream, and told his brethren, who hated him so much the more. For he said unto them, Hear, I pray you, this dream which I have dreamed.

A.V. 1611.

Now Israel loved Joseph more than all his children, because he was the son of his old age; and he made him a coat of many colours. And when his brethren saw that their father loved him more than all his brethren, they hated him, and could not speak peaceably unto him. And Joseph dreamed a dream, and he told it his brethren: and they hated him yet the more. And he said unto them, Hear, I pray you, this dream which I have dreamed.

II.—PSALM XXIII. 1-4.

MATTHEW'S. 1537.

The Lord is my Shepherd; I can want nothing. He feedeth me in a green pasture, and leadeth me to a fresh water. He quickeneth my soul, and bringeth me forth in the way of righteousness for his name's sake. Though I should walk now in the valley of the shadow of death, yet I fear no evil, for thou art with me; thy staff and thy sheep-hook comfort me.

A.V. 1611.

The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want. He maketh me to lie down in green pastures; he leadeth me beside the still waters. He restoreth my soul: he leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake. Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.

III.—I COR. XIII. 4-8.

MATTHEW'S. 1537.

Love suffereth long, and is courteous. Love envieth not. Love doth not frowardly, swelleth not, dealeth not dishonestly, seeketh not her own, is not provoked to anger, thinketh not evil, rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth; suffereth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth in all things. Though that prophesying fail, other tongues shall cease, or knowledge vanish away, yet love falleth never away

BISHOPS'. 1568.

Love suffereth long, and is courteous; love envieth not; love doth not frowardly, swelleth not, dealeth not dishonestly, seeketh not her own, is not provoked to anger, thinketh none evil, rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth; suffereth all things; believeth all things; hopeth all things; endureth all things. Though that prophesyings fail, other tongues cease, or knowledge vanish away, yet love falleth never away.

RHEMES. 1582.

Charity is patient, is benign; charity envieth not, dealeth not perversely; is not puffed up, is not ambitious, seeketh not her own, is not provoked to anger, thinketh not evil; rejoiceth not upon iniquity, but rejoiceth with the truth; suffereth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, beareth all things. Charity never falleth away; whether prophecies shall be made void, or tongues shall cease, or knowledge shall be destroyed.

GENEVA. 1560.

Love suffereth long: it is bountiful: love envieth not; love doth not boast itself; it is not puffed up; it disdaineth not; it seeketh not her own things; it is not provoked to anger; it thinketh not evil; it rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth. It suffereth all things, it believeth all things, it hopeth all things, it endureth all things. Love doth never fall away, though that prophesyings be abolished, or the tongues cease, or knowledge vanish away.

A. V. 1611.

Charity suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil; rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things. Charity never faileth: but whether there be prophecies, they shall fail; whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away.

It will be seen at once that the actual contribution of the A.V. in the way of new renderings is very small. In extract I. the well-known 'coat of many colours' is Tindale's, and has held its place throughout. 'Could not speak peaceably unto him,' the A.V. gets from the Geneva, while a good instance of the improvement in expression on the part of the A.V. is the replacing of the 'because he begat him in his old age' of the earlier versions by the smoother expression 'because he was the son of his old age.'

In extract III. another element of comparison comes in, the Rhemes New Testament of 1582, and a careful comparison shows that it exerted considerable influence; for example, in the 'is kind' of verse 4, and the whole structure of verse 8. At the same time, much of the A.V. here is independent, *e.g.* 'vaunteth not itself,' 'doth not behave itself unseemly,' 'is not easily provoked,' 'charity never faileth.' Here also the influence of the Geneva Bible can be clearly seen, and it is matter for regret that the A.V. did not go back to that and the 1537 rendering of 'love' for 'charity.'

The 1611 Bible never 'Authorized.'—It is probable that multitudes of the Bible readers of to-day think that either by some act of James I. or of his Parliament, the revision finished in 1611 was duly constituted *the* Authorized Version of the English nation. But there is no evidence whatever that in any formal or authoritative way this Bible was ever constituted the official version. Even the words 'Appointed to be read in Churches,' which appear on the engraved 1611 title-page, and upon some, but not all, of the early wood-block titles, may not mean

what the reader of to-day usually understands by them. They may refer rather to the fact that in the preliminary pages there is a table showing first 'how the Psalter is appointed to be read,' and then, 'the order how the rest of Scripture is appointed to be read.' That is, they may refer to the lessons to be read in church; and, to give the proper selection, in all the folio editions of the 1611 Bible a Kalendar is given. The only authorization of which there is any record was the highest and best—the admission on all hands of its many and great excellences. Slowly but surely it won its way. It, of course, received great assistance towards winning general acceptance from the fact that king and bishops and scholars of renown had co-operated in producing it. But for twenty-five years the Geneva Bible continued in use in many churches. Yet, after having distanced this most formidable competitor for popular favour, the 1611 Bible for more than two centuries remained the unrivalled version of the Scriptures for all English-speaking peoples.

Common Misconceptions about the Authorized Version.—One of the commonest misconceptions about the 1611 Bible is that it was throughout an entirely a new translation. The extracts from the translator's own preface given above show how erroneous this view is. They also say, in speaking of James the First's desire for the new Bible, 'by this means it cometh to pass that whatsoever is sound already (and all is sound for substance, in one or other of our editions,¹ and the worst of ours far better than their

¹ That is, the earlier Bibles, Matthew's, Great Bible, Bishops', etc.

authentic vulgar),¹ the same will shine as gold more brightly, being rubbed and polished ; also, if anything be halting, or superfluous, or not so agreeable to the original, the same may be corrected, and the truth set in place.' These words clearly describe the task, not of men who set to work to make 'a new translation,' but rather 'to make a good one better.' Another very common mistake is the impression that the A.V. had never been *revised* until 1881. Or—another form of the same error—to suppose that our ordinary Bibles are *exact* reprints of the 1611 text. How far this notion is from the truth anyone can soon satisfy himself who will glance through Mr. Scrivener's *Introduction to the Cambridge Paragraph Bible*.² So far from this being the case, the extraordinary fact is that of the first edition (1611) there are two separate standard issues, differing from one another in hundreds of minute matters. And in subsequent and modern editions the departures from the text of both are very numerous. 'Some of these differences,' writes Mr. Scrivener, 'must be imputed to oversight and negligence, from which no work of man is entirely free ; but much the greater part of them are deliberate changes introduced silently and without authority by men whose very names are often unknown.' Very many of these changes were decidedly for the better, and not a few correct obvious faults in the early editions. The list of them given in Appendix A, in Mr. Scrivener's book, covers forty-

¹ The reference is to the Rhemes N.T. (1582) and the Douay O.T. (1609-10).

² Mr. Scrivener has embodied this with much additional matter in his book, *The Authorized Edition of the English Bible* (1611), its subsequent reprints and modern representatives.

seven pages. They are for the most part corrections in minute points, and but few of them seriously affect the meaning of Scripture. A few of the most important in the Gospels, taken from Mr. Scrivener's list, will illustrate and exhibit the character of this quiet but effective revision. The dates in the second column give the earliest known appearance of exact alteration.

THE 1611 TEXT.	THE A.V. OF TO-DAY.
Matth. xvi. 16. Thou art Christ.	Thou art the Christ (1762).
„ xxvi. 75. The words of Jesus.	The word of Jesus (1762).
„ xxvii. 22. Pilate said.	Pilate saith (1629).
Mark ii. 4. For press.	For the press (1743).
„ v. 6. He came and worshipped.	He ran and worshipped (1638).
„ x. 18. There is no man good but one.	<i>There is none good but one</i> (1638).
Luke i. 3. Understanding of things.	Understanding of all things (1629).
John xv. 20. The servant is not greater than the Lord.	The servant is not greater than his lord (1762).

All the examples given in the above list, and, in fact, all the really important variations in our present A.V. from the 1611 text, are carefully indicated in the margin of the Parallel Bible of 1885, A.V. and R.V.

Notable Editions of the Authorized Version.—In 1612 the first *octavo* and the first *quarto* editions appeared, the latter being a very beautiful book. Then edition followed edition in rapid succession. In 1616 the first folio edition in Roman type appeared, a finely printed book. In 1629 and 1638 editions appeared at Cambridge, the former printed by Thomas and John Buck, the latter by Thomas Buck

and Roger Daniel, both in folio. These are the first editions in which any important *revision* work can be traced. In 1701, an edition in three volumes folio appeared in London, notable as being the first containing the marginal dates so familiar to us all. This was edited by Bishop Lloyd, who took the dates from Archbishop Ussher's *Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti*. The dates, though doubtless correct in a large number of instances, are practically the work of only one scholar, and are no part of James the First's work. In 1762, Dr. Paris of Trinity College, Cambridge, and in 1769, Dr. Blayney, Hertford College, Oxford, Regius Professor of Hebrew, published editions in quarto and folio, both very considerably revised, and Dr. Blayney has left an interesting account of his share in the work. This was the last serious attempt to improve the A.V., whose results found any place in the ordinary editions prior to 1881.

CHAPTER XII.

THE REVISED VERSION.

The Revised Version and its Revisers.—

We have left only a limited space for the story of the Revised Version, mainly because, being recent, the main details are familiar to most readers. Yet, for the sake of completeness, it is needful to set apart a few pages to this last great achievement of English Biblical scholarship. During the first fifty or sixty years of the nineteenth century the question of revising the Authorized Version was discussed from time to time. Two main reasons account for this. First, the advance in the textual criticism of the Greek Testament, due to the discovery and study of MSS.,—especially to the labours of such scholars as Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles, had resulted in the construction of a much more accurate Greek text than the best available in the days of James the First. This, together with the advance of scholarship generally, led to the acknowledgement of a considerable number of mistranslations in the Authorized Version. As early as 1856 motions on the subject were made in both the Lower House of Convocation and also in the House of Commons, but without any immediate effect. Meanwhile discussion continued, and the conviction grew that the fit time for revision had come. In February, 1870, the Convocation of Canterbury resolved that it was

desirable to undertake a revision of the Authorized Version, and that a body of its own members should undertake the work, with power to 'invite the co-operation of any eminent for scholarship, to whatever nation or religious body they may belong.' In May, 1870, Convocation resolved that the committee appointed in February should separate into two companies, one for the Old Testament, the other for the New Testament. The following general principles were also adopted :—

1. To introduce as few alterations as possible into the text or the A. V. consistently with faithfulness.

2. To limit, as far as possible, the expressions of such alterations to the language of the A. V. and earlier English versions.

3. That each company go twice over the portion to be revised, once provisionally, the second time finally.

4. That the text to be adopted be that for which the evidence is decidedly preponderating; and that when the text so adopted differs from that from which the A. V. was made, the alterations be indicated in the margin.

5. To make or retain no change in the text on the second final revision by each company, except *two-thirds* of those present approve of the same, but on the first revision to decide by simple majorities.

Two Companies of American scholars were organized, at the invitation of the Revisers, to work in co-operation with them, and began their labours in October, 1872. The Revised New Testament was published in 1881; the Revised Old Testament, and consequently the complete Revised Bible, in 1885.

The Chief Changes effected in the Revised Version of the New Testament.—These are

1. *Changes due to a better Greek Text.* In total these are very considerable, but they affect no important doctrine. They comprise—(i.) *Omissions.* The chief of these are the Doxology in the Lord's Prayer,

Matt. vi. 13; the angel troubling the water, John v. 3, 4; the baptismal confession of the eunuch, Acts viii. 37; the omission of the word 'blood' in the phrase 'of one blood,' in Acts xvii. 26; and the three heavenly witnesses, 1 John v. 7. (ii.) *Important alterations of reading.* As examples of these we may instance Luke ii. 14, 'And on earth peace among men in whom he is well pleased'; 'Let us have peace,' in Rom. v. 1; and 1 Tim. iii. 16, 'He who was manifested in the flesh.'

2. *Improved translations.* These are almost numberless, and many of them give a new beauty and force to the words and incidents of Scripture; for example, 'which strain *out* the gnat and swallow the camel,' Matt. xxiii. 24; 'The Lord added to them day by day those *that were being saved*,' Acts ii. 47; '*With but little persuasion* thou wouldest fain make me a Christian,' Acts xxvi. 28; '*Every scripture inspired of God* is also profitable,' 2 Tim. iii. 16; 'Therefore we ought to give the more earnest heed to the things that we have heard, *lest haply we drift away from them*,' Heb. ii. 1.

Following the practice observed throughout this book, we give side by side the same passage for comparison in both A.V. and R.V. It was inevitable that the Revised Version should disturb some cherished associations and some loved familiar rhythms. But it is hard to conceive how any one can carefully study it without seeing what a flood of new light it throws upon the meaning of God's Word. The excellences of the version are seen to greatest advantage in the Epistles. Take as an example the verses upon which we happen to open:—

EPHESIANS i. 7-14, A.V.

7 In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace ;

8 Wherein he hath abounded toward us in all wisdom and prudence ;

9 Having made known unto us the mystery of his will, according to his good pleasure which he hath purposed in himself :

10 That in the dispensation of the fulness of times he might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth ; *even* in him :

11 In whom also we have obtained an inheritance, being predestinated according to the purpose of him who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will :

12 That we should be to the praise of his glory, who first trusted in Christ.

EPHESIANS i. 7-14, R.V.

In whom we have our redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of our trespasses, according to the riches of his grace, which he made to abound toward us in all wisdom and prudence, having made known unto us the mystery of his will, according to his good pleasure which he purposed in him unto a dispensation of the fulness of the times, to sum up all things in Christ, the things in the heavens, and the things upon the earth ; in him, *I say*, in whom also we were made a heritage, having been foreordained according to the purpose of him who worketh all things after the counsel of his will ; to the end that we should be unto the praise of his glory, we who had before hoped in Christ.

Chief Changes Effected in the Revised Old Testament.—The Old Testament Revisers followed the Massoretic Text closely, and very rarely departed from it. This renders the changes in their text much less noticeable than in the N.T. Light, however, is thrown upon the O.T. text by the LXX. and other early versions, and the Revisers have not unfrequently put in the margin what is probably the true reading. Examples of this occur at Genesis iv. 8 ; xxxii. 28 ; Job xiii. 15 ; Isaiah ix. 3. In this last example the Revisers read, 'Thou hast multiplied the nation, thou *hast* increased their joy,' thus removing

the seeming contradiction of the A.V. In Isaiah lxiii. 9, they put the probably true reading in the margin, 'In all their adversity he was no adversary.' In short, there are many traces throughout the O.T. that the needful two-thirds majority for important changes of rendering was much less frequently attained than in the N.T. This renders the very careful study of the *marginal notes* of the Revised O.T. a necessity to any one who wishes to derive the utmost benefit from it. In Job, for example, it is hardly too much to say that the margin affords a finer translation of the book than that which appears in the text.

The Revisers have further bestowed great benefit upon all Biblical scholars by the careful way in which they have indicated the poetical portions; by their very judicious and helpful treatment of the Psalter, especially in the way of restraining alteration, indicating the five books, and their treatment of the titles of the Psalms. As in the New Testament the chief benefit is conferred upon the student of the Epistles, so, if we had to make a choice, we should say in the Old Testament the chief benefit is conferred upon the student of the Prophets. Of the manner in which they have enabled the English reader to grasp, in a way never possible before, the meaning of the prophetic writers, a very long series of illustrations could be given, but one must suffice. *Ex uno disce omnes*. In Habakkuk i. 11 the A.V. reads, 'Then shall his mind change, and he shall pass over, and offend, *imputing* this his power unto his god'; the R.V., 'Then shall he sweep by as a wind, and shall pass over (margin, or transgress) and be guilty: even he whose might is his god.' The latter gives a vivid pic-

ture of the haughty, resistless Chaldean ; the former is practically unintelligible.

We have now passed in rapid review the cardinal editions of portions, and of complete versions of the English Printed Bible. We have been able to sketch but the merest outline. The temptation to fill in that outline has always been strong, but the inexorable limits of space forbade. We trust that enough has been said to put the careful reader in possession of the leading points in one of the most wonderful stories in the history of the English nation. Since William Tindale died at Vilvorde, in 1536, England has passed through many a time of stress and storm. She successfully weathered the Romanist reaction under both Henry VIII. and Mary Tudor ; she defeated Spain in the day of that kingdom's haughtiest might ; she broke the power of irresponsible monarchy during the Commonwealth ; and since that day she has led the van among the nations of the world in the struggle for and the achievement of civil and religious liberty. In all these past conflicts the English Bible has been the real strength of the English nation. And amid the conflict of thought and purpose and motive to-day the same sure guide is in our midst, the same unerring counsellor in that ' Word of the Lord that liveth and abideth for ever.'

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